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EDITORIAL

REVELRY IN WASHINGTON

The other week, somebody came to dinner in Washington, and the locals fawned on him like he was, well, a movie star. The title on the marquee read *Mr. Reagan Goes to Washington*—a remake of *Mr. Smith*, with Ron in the Jimmy Stewart role (he was always a second-string Jimmy Stewart in his acting days). The remake features a 69-year-old idealist who campaigns to get the bloated bureaucrats off the little people's backs. Before his first 100 days even begin (not counting Howard Baker's false-start call for a lame-duck tax cut), he sweeps into Washington to mingle with those little people. We quote from *The New York Times*: "the pillars of Washington society: artistic leaders, sports team moguls, hometown publishers. . . ."

Washington reporters drooled over the spectacle of democratic self-renewal and reported that, after four years of Baptist austerity in the big White House, the capital felt like partying again. Maître d's in expense-account restaurants did supercilious-eyebrow calisthenics; a Washington society matron gushed that the new people would really know "how to do things right." We almost found ourselves nostalgic for Jimmy and Rosalynn's down-home dinners at 1600.

Then the cacophony of clashing symbols faded and the President-elect went home, praised by his hosts for his "civility" and unanimously acclaimed a non-outsider.

The Washington love feast left us, however, with a mild case of heartburn. That Ronald Reagan would cozy up to the power structure did not strike us as all that startling. And where, we wondered, were the courtesy calls on those outside the establishment—the blacks, the poor, the Hispanics, the young, the unemployed? Perhaps their turn will come when the budget ax falls, and they are presented with the tab for the new revelry in Washington.

THE PAINS OF LABOR
Stanley Aronowitz

JOBS THE SWEDISH WAY
Helen Ginsburg

THE I.P.S. AND ITS ENEMIES
Aryeh Neier
Hillel Levin

TWO NAZI CHILDHOODS
Thomas Flanagan

'CRACKERS' 'SOUTHERNERS'
Gene Lyons

DOMESTIC FOREIGN POLICY

THE MANY DOCTRINES OF CARTER

ALAN WOLFE

Jimmy Carter will soon no longer be President, but the world that he faced has not changed very much at all. Carter, it may be recalled, pursued a foreign policy based on thoroughly conservative assumptions, except in a few areas such as Latin America. It will be difficult for the incoming Reagan Administration—on matters as diverse as nuclear strategy, new weapons systems, chemical warfare, nuclear proliferation, attitudes toward the Soviet Union, or relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries—to be more conservative than Carter was. Consequently, a re-examination of what Carter actually did is more useful than all the current Washington gossip about what Ronald Reagan might do.

When Carter assumed office in 1977, he was a tabula rasa, the perfect American innocent in a world set in its ways. Predictions of how he would behave were few, and those that were attempted were based on Carter's membership in the Trilateral Commission, as if a general staff existed to give the orders that Lieutenant Carter would follow. It turns out, in retrospect, that believers in the omnipotence of Trilateralism gave Carter too much credit, for they assumed that when presented with a coherent program, the President would respond.

Actually, Carter never developed a foreign policy. To Jimmy Carter, events in the world *always* took place as a backdrop to his reelection campaign, from the moment of his inaugural. No previous President in American history has ever, to such a degree, shaped his foreign policy with domestic considerations so

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LETTERS.

EXCLUSIVE ACCESS TO HARVARD?

New York City

I write chiefly to applaud the article entitled "Business Goes Back to College" by David F. Noble and Nancy E. Pfund [*The Nation*, Sept. 20].

The matter and the quality of this story are very much in the tradition of the old *Nation* I published for many years. What the piece says about the deviations of universities from their supposed tradition of freedom, integrity and objectivity greatly needed saying. One is reminded of the postwar experiences of M.I.T.—one of the first to become in effect an arm of Government—in concealing the relationship by spinning off corporations such as Lincoln Laboratories and the Mitre ("M.I.T. Research") Corporation.

And now the large corporations have taken over the former role of Government. It is not to be doubted.

Still, there are allegations, or at least insinuations, toward the end of the piece that seem to require substantiation. Specifically, it is stated that Monsanto Chemical, in return for a $23 million gift, received access to the facilities of Harvard Medical School, and unfortunately there is no good reason to doubt that. But it is implied, though not said in so many words, that the access was granted *exclusively* to Monsanto. Is this true, and is there evidence to show that it is true? If so, the sin involved is indeed mortal. Clarification on this point would be helpful. *James J. Storrow jr.*

HARVARD CORRECTS

Boston

I would like to correct an inaccuracy in the recent article "Business Goes Back to College" by David F. Noble and Nancy E. Pfund. Contrary to the authors' statement that the newly established Associates Program at the Harvard School of Public Health is for industry, the program is unique precisely because it is designed to make the school's resources available to colleagues in the labor, nonprofit and public sectors, as well as in industry. In fact, a graduated annual fee schedule was designed to foster broad participation by all interested organizations.

Henry B. Barg
Director of the Associates Program
Harvard School of Public Health

AUTHORS RESPOND

Durham, N.C.

James Storrow's inference is not correct. We never meant to imply, and hence never said, that access to the resources of Harvard Medical School was being granted to Monsanto exclusively, in return for the $23 million. We are sure that Harvard would grant such access to anyone else who gives them $23 million. Specifically, according to the charter agreement—there are agreements covering individual programs—Harvard will provide the basic science, scientists, training and administrative control over the research and Monsanto will provide materials and development skills and help identify research needs. Monsanto receives exclusive license to all Harvard inventions in the area of cooperation for a specified time and there is no restriction on publication except for the not insignificant obligation of each party to inform the other prior to publication and to refrain from disclosing information gained from the other.

The points to be stressed, the ones that we were making in our article, are that resources like Harvard Medical School are, first, valuable social resources created over generations and largely at public expense and, second, they are finite, not unlimited. Thus, we argue, access should be open, and since the resources are limited, predominant access to them by some, which means de facto restricted access for others, should be prevented. In the case of the Monsanto connection, considerable resources at the Harvard Medical School—people, equipment, space—are being tied up on a priority basis and thus they are not available to others, with other purposes.

The same points need to be emphasized with regard to Henry Barg's letter. Associates programs were established beginning in the 1960s in order to foster industry-academy links during a time of very heavy Government support of university research, and to provide the universities with a source of discretionary income. The M.I.T. Industrial Liaison Program and Associates Program are among the oldest and largest in the country, and these were the model for the new program at the Harvard School of Public Health, one of several Harvard moves toward a closer industrial connection.

At M.I.T. access is not formally restricted, but it is de facto for two reasons. First, the obvious one, the nonindustry groups do not have the financial resources to buy in (even with a sliding-fee scale). Second, and less obvious, establishment of university-based connections like these are difficult to achieve and sustain, and much energy must be expended to sell the program to prospective recruits and to service them once they have become fee-paying members. Much of this ongoing and extensive effort depends upon the existence or creation of a network of personal contacts, and it costs money.

Not surprisingly, then, at M.I.T. all efforts have heretofore been directed toward industry, where the contacts are strongest and, more important, where the financial resources are greatest. (Also, courting a lean recruit, like labor, might mean jeopardizing fat ones.) There are no nonindustry members in either program, despite good intentions to broaden the scope and reassurances that the programs are open to all, nor are there likely to be without outside pressure.

The new H.S.P.H. program, as we indicated, was based upon the M.I.T. experience. It began as an effort to establish links with industry and thereby to develop a source of income. However, as a result of vigorous objections to the narrowness of the plan on the part of a significant number of faculty at the school, the scope was indeed expanded, as Barg correctly states, to include nonindustry participants. This new declaration of intent to include any and all and to foster broad-based participation by use of a sliding-fee scale goes far to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of the program and we understand that letters announcing the program and soliciting interest have indeed been sent out to nonindustry as well as industry groups. But whether or not H.S.P.H. will do better than its M.I.T. model in actually translating good intentions (and good public relations) into reality by providing equitable access to its (our) resources remains to be seen. And we, among others, will be watching.

David F. Noble
Nancy E. Pfund

KEEP THOSE LETTERS COMING, BUT KEEP THEM SHORT, PLEASE.

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EDITORIALS.

Filtering Down

It seems clear that the Reagan Administration aims to be the trickle-down, filter-down government of the primal American dream. Whether it will also be activist, inactivist or just plain reactionary remains considerably less certain at this point.

Trickle-down requires no explanation. It is the ancient notion that the wealthy will recognize their own class interest, add a pinch of patriotism and invest what the tax cutters hand them in instantly productive enterprises. Filter-down is a relatively exotic concept. It applies, according to the formulation of Mrs. Ronald Reagan (recorded in an interview in *The Washington Post*, November 21), to the general standard of behavior. She and the First Gentleman, she indicated, mean to set us all an example for "a return to a higher sense of morality." "I think," she declared, "that might be accomplished by what you say, how you conduct yourself, and the tone you set. *It kind of filters down from the top.*" (Italics added.) We are glad to see a return to higher morality after four years of those licentious Carters, but it was not really first on our wish list.

If it appears frivolous to treat the transition as a mere matter of style, with substance in the deep background, blame it on the intense flurry of apparent activity in Reaganville. All the news, so to speak, is being made by the serried ranks of advisers pretending to set up the Reagan Administration. All this busy-work is encapsulated in the story of the "management" adviser whose precious high-level personnel file boxes rode to the Coast first class while the man himself sat back with the tourists.

What will Reagan do with all this input? What will be the shape of his Administration? The outlines are fairly predictable from Reagan's own past. We have had, for example, the revival of General Motors as the model for efficient government—the "very best men" should be recruited for

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the top jobs, the way G.M. does, said Mr. Bloomingdale of the Diners Club and the Reagan inner circle of aged tycoons. (No talk of G.M.'s gigantic losses of more than half a billion in the last quarter, based on truly heroic miscalculations about the auto market. And no talk of Reagan's old employer, General Electric, still in the black.)

The G.M. model leads us straight to the Federal deficit. Obviously, the red ink must be stanched before the nation bleeds to death. Pulling and hauling is going on in this area and the most plain-speaking (and experienced) of the inflation-fighting team, Caspar Weinberger, is rationally pessimistic about the chances of accomplishing that in a hurry. The task of getting anywhere near the goals promised in the campaign becomes all the harder in the midstream of fiscal year 1981.

Well then, what about a good old-fashioned freeze—not of wages and prices, of course (that will come later, and too late), but a hiring freeze? Reagan has pledged that, and never mind that Jimmy Carter has had three freezes, one of them still in effect, and that Richard Nixon froze Federal hiring twice without much effect. Also forget the fact that the U.S. payroll is down by 120,000 jobs since 1970, so that processing of workmen's compensation claims is molasses-slow, for example, and the Labor Department makes ever fewer health and safety inspections. The Pentagon, of course, will have to be exempted from the freeze if it is to do half the new things (including chemical warfare preparation) it will be told to undertake.

Reagan has shown signs of recognizing the existence of Congress, which is more than Carter did during his transition. But there are wrinkled brows on the Hill as the legislators consider fulfilling Reagan's pledges. The probable new chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, acidly observed, "I don't think we can have a 10 percent tax cut, increase the military and balance the budget." Well, of course not.

President Carter "taught the citizens to distrust professions of democracy and to associate democracy with incompetence, empty vision and self-righteousness," writes Sheldon Wolin in the December 18 issue of *The New York Review of Books*. Reagan's style is less pietistic though just as sentimental. Out there on his Santa Barbara ranch he is preparing another kind of lesson for us. It will be harder boiled from all the signs, but at least as harmful to anything that could be called democratic. But it will be done with filtered style.

Encouraging Word

We take heart from the news that an aide to President-elect Ronald Reagan has let it be known that the Reagan Administration would take a dim view of the execution of Kim Dae Jung by the military Government of South Korea. This is the first sign that the incoming Administration will pay attention to human rights in nations aligned with the United States. While executing Kim for the crime of seditiously running for President of his country would be an extreme outrage, recent events in South Korea and in the United States had caused us to give up virtually all hope that his life would be spared. The chances are still not very good, but they are better. And of course they would be much better still if the President-elect himself said something about Kim.

Reagan's election was reportedly celebrated by President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea and his associates, as it was celebrated by military dictators elsewhere. They are happy to be rid of the Carter Administration even though it did not consistently carry out its claim to be concerned with human rights in American foreign policy. What President Jimmy Carter did do, however, was give legitimacy to the idea that in its dealings with other countries, the United States should consider if they ban, imprison, torture and execute political dissenters. In a way, the statement by the Reagan aide about Kim Dae Jung is a tribute to the present Administration's achievement.

In a recent address to the Organization of American States, President Carter called on his successor to continue the campaign for human rights in Latin America—where the Carter Administration did best in living up to its stated principles. It is a call we endorse, and with a little less fear that it will be ignored as a consequence of the statement by Reagan's aide about Kim Dae Jung.

Local Option

Almost lost in the tides of punditry hailing a shift to the right in the past election was a local initiative in western Massachusetts. There, a majority of voters in three state Senate districts cast their ballots affirmatively in a nonbinding referendum calling for a bilateral freeze by the United States and the U.S.S.R. on nuclear weapons production.

The districts contain the cities of Springfield and Pittsfield, as well as the college towns of South Hadley, Northampton and Amherst. Despite the presence of the latter, the area is rather conservative and contains a number of large weapons plants. Even so, the antinuclear initiative—on the ballot as Proposition 7—passed by a margin of 59 to 41 percent.

The proposition stated:

> Shall the Senator from this district be instructed in favor of a resolution requesting the President of the United States to propose to the Soviet Union a mutual nuclear weapons moratorium, immediately halting the testing, production and deployment of all nuclear warheads, missiles, and delivery systems, and requesting Congress to transfer the funds that would have been used for those purposes to civilian use.

This referendum was the work of two local peace groups—the Traprock Peace Center in Deerfield and the American Friends Service Committee chapter in Northampton. According to Randy Kehler of the Traprock Center, "This

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vote in western Massachusetts shows that the American public is indeed receptive to proposals for stopping the arms race. The issue of nuclear arms transcends party lines and liberal versus conservative divisions. . . . No one wants a nuclear war." Kehler adds that he expects the Massachusetts proposal to spark similar drives elsewhere. He notes also that dozens of peace, religious and labor groups have endorsed the concept of a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

It is worth noting that the wording of Proposition 7 is similar to that of an amendment to the SALT II treaty introduced by Senator Mark Hatfield in the fall of 1979. President-elect Ronald Reagan has stated that he wishes to renegotiate the SALT treaty with the Soviet Union—and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev recently responded that his country would give "a positive reaction" to any "constructive" foreign policy initiatives put forward by a Reagan Administration.

Whether the Massachusetts referendum, and others like it, can have any constructive effect on the SALT process and the international nuclear arms race is a very open question. Still, Proposition 7 does represent an interesting effort by U.S. peace forces to reach out beyond their traditional constituencies.

S. DUNCAN HARP

S. Duncan Harp is an intern at The Nation.

Pentagon Power

On Monday, November 17, approximately 1,300 women from throughout the Northeast gathered at the Pentagon to peacefully protest defense spending, racism, sexism, violence against women and the weapons and military policies that could well mean curtains for us all. This was the first all-women Pentagon action in nearly a decade and also the first anti-Government protest to be held in the capital area since November 4. What happened in its wake does not bode well for the activist left, the feminist movement or civil liberties.

Late Monday morning, as the final stage of the protest began, many of the demonstrators conducted a sit-in on the steps leading to three of the Pentagon's five doors. The effort to block entry into the building was not very successful, mostly because the large numbers of police already positioned on the steps prevented anyone from getting close to the doors and also because many of the colonels, generals and other Pentagon officials who came through did not hesitate to step over—and in some cases, on—the women seated on the steps. By late afternoon 124 had been arrested, all but four on charges of obstruction, a petty offense. Though obstruction carries a maximum penalty of thirty days in jail and/or a $50 fine, those arrested on such a charge in past Pentagon demonstrations have been let off with at most a small fine. This time, however, most demonstrators had the book thrown at them.

Virtually all of the women who have thus far come to trial have been found guilty and sentenced to terms of either ten or thirty days, the longer sentence going to those who were arrested for civil disobedience at another Pentagon demonstration in April. The thirty-four women who entered pleas of either guilty or nolo contendere at the time of their arraignment were also sentenced to either ten or thirty days. That night, those thirty-four women were put in steel handcuffs and waist and leg irons and shipped off to serve their time in the Federal Women's Penitentiary in Alderson, West Virginia, a medium-security prison for felons serving anywhere from one year to life. According to Nina Kraut, legal coordinator for the women's action, "It is clearly illegal to send these women to Alderson. Title 18, U.S.C. 4083 states that anyone sentenced to less than one year shall not be sent to a Federal penitentiary." According to a Government agent on the scene in court the day of the action, however, "We can send 'em wherever we like, to California or Alaska if we want."

Another peculiarity was the fact that four different judges in four different courtrooms handed out precisely the same sentences. As Kraut complained: "The magistrates for this action also handled the April action, and then they gave out penalties—usually small fines—on the basis of each individual case, as they should. But this time they've been absolutely insistent on handing out sentences of ten or thirty days, regardless of the individual case. This definitely leads one to infer that the magistrates got together with one another or the district attorney ahead of time and decided then to hand out across-the-board sentences to everyone." Such a meeting would be a violation of due process of law, she charged.

The unexpectedly harsh penalties doled out to the women arrested in the November 17 protest have been taken by many as, in one activist's words, "A clear sign that the Government has decided to clamp down in order to deter people, especially women, from demonstrating and doing civil disobedience at the Pentagon again." Or is it simply a harbinger of what equal rights will mean in the Age of Reagan?

MARY ELLEN DONOVAN

Mary Ellen Donovan, a writer and political activist, is currently working on a book about women and self-esteem, to be published by Doubleday.

NATURE WATCH

December Song

As an example of our divorce from nature, the word "creepy" has come to mean behavior most unnatural. And yet if house cats walked as upright as we do—if they didn't creep so magnificently that they remind us of almost the entire world of nature by themselves—we wouldn't have them living with us in every city apartment building. People who do not like cats or dogs keep bowls of Celebes Rainbow Fish, Red Snakeskin Guppies, Calico Angelfish, Upside Down Catfish and Yucatan Mollies. And animals in cages would be as-

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tounded if one could ever possibly explain to them that the reason they are being held captive is only so that we can *watch* them. (How creepy it would seem!) Though parrots don't talk nearly as sensibly as many of the feebleminded human beings we choose to institutionalize, other people are willing to pay as much as $2,000 or $3,000 for the pleasure of a parrot's company. Some marvelous indefinable Amazonian wildness enhances its camaraderie, to the point that many species have been endangered by the pet trade.

Especially as the winter gathers, we hang Malaysian tree ferns in the window, above a tableful of Sonoran cactus, potted spider grass and zebra and impatiens plants—impatient ourselves to crowd the narrowest dwelling with green life. Some people buy cut flowers, wreaths and terrariums in an expansive mood; others fill the house with plants in a bit of panic, as if in December they already feel the walls close in. With houseplants, we reassure ourselves that we too will stay green all winter, as in many other ways we are gearing up for the months to come.

December in the woods is an undistinguished time, however. The weather hasn't yet turned bitter or hungry. The deer are through their rutting season, but are still fat from eating apples and beechnuts. Bears and weasels bred early last summer in order to give birth next February and April. Coyotes, raccoons and foxes won't mate until about February to meet the same April schedule as the weasels.

Only for the humble porcupine is December a festive month. Porcupines have left the summer greenery of the fields for a winter woodland diet of bark, sheltering under rocks and evergreens. But, squalling to each other across the snow, the males and females home in. The male eventually performs a clumsy, three-legged mating dance before the female while clutching his testicles with one front paw. For both of them, winter begins on a note of celebration.

EDWARD HOAGLAND

Edward Hoagland is author of African Calliope: A Journey to the Sudan *(to be published in paperback by Penguin in March), and* The Edward Hoagland Reader *(Random House).*

ARTICLES.

THE PAINS OF LABOR

In Unionism There Is Fear

STANLEY ARONOWITZ

The United States, once the most awesome industrial power in the world, is losing the industries upon which its strength was built. Economists place the blame for the decline in manufacturing on a combination of factors—loss of technological superiority, migrations of major plants from the United States abroad and rising production costs due to wage and benefits increases that exceed productivity rises and high raw materials prices.

But the union leaders and their memberships have reacted more viscerally, as they face a severe and seemingly chronic decline in jobs in steel, auto and other industries where organized labor has drawn its traditional strength. Some workers have made scapegoats of minorities and women, blaming America's economic woes on excessive welfare expenditures and government affirmative-action programs. A conservative union leadership demands trade restrictions on auto and steel imports, thus abandoning labor's traditional support for free trade.

Along with import quotas, labor has thrown its support behind Federal aid for declining industries, as in the Chrysler case when the A.F.L.-C.I.O. joined the embattled United Auto Workers in supporting the corporation's request for $3 billion in loan guarantees. Today, almost 200,000 members of the United Auto Workers union remain unemployed and, despite optimistic forecasts by the industry, the prospects for U.S. auto production are uncertain. Steel production, which is tied to auto production, has gone into decline. The textile and needle trades are also suffering from import competition.

Faced by labor's growing weakness (only 20 percent of the labor force is unionized, compared with 28 percent at the end of World War II), the union leadership has been reluctant to advance innovative, positive proposals that would preserve or create jobs in the manufacturing sector. Instead they call for short-term, makeshift programs like import restriction, fuller unemployment-insurance coverage and bail-outs of faltering companies. These may be necessary, but they do not reach the heart of the problem.

In other countries, labor has responded to shrinking growth with nationalization programs, but public ownership is not in the American tradition. A few experiments in worker-owned and managed companies are underway in small and medium-sized plants facing shutdowns—a recent example being the Rath Meatpacking Company of Waterloo, Iowa. But a proposal advanced by union, church and civic groups to purchase Sheet and Tube's closed Youngstown, Ohio, plant failed because the Federal Government refused to advance capital for the venture.

Attempting to control runaway industries is another approach that holds considerable promise. Labor officials and

Stanley Aronowitz is a visiting professor of political science at Columbia University and author of False Promises: The Shaping of American Working-Class Consciousness *(McGraw-Hill). His forthcoming book,* Class, Politics and Culture, *will be published by Praeger in the spring of 1981.*

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public-interest groups in Ohio, for example, proposed legislation that would require companies intending to close plants and other facilities to make their decision subject to public review and approval. Indemnities, which would be paid to workers and communities adversely affected by plant removal, have also been suggested. But attempts to enact legislation restricting the right of capital to invest without consideration of the social consequences have remained localized and have not received the active and wholehearted support of the labor movement.

The weak response of the union leadership to manufacturing decline reflects their greater concern with organizational self-preservation rather than with saving workers' jobs. As their dues rolls decline, the response of the big manufacturing unions has been to organize or swallow up existing unions in unrelated industries. The rise of conglomerate capitalism is being paralleled by the rise of conglomerate unionism. The older model industrial union, under which a single industry was organized and union members and leadership recruited from plants within that industry, is fast becoming a thing of the past. Today, the number of members of the United Auto Workers who do not work in the auto industry is greater than the number of those who do. Unions representing aircraft, agricultural implements and nonferrous metal workers, as well as retail employees, university clerical workers and professionals, now dominate the U.A.W. If the auto industry continues its projected decline in the United States, car workers will probably constitute no more than a third of the U.A.W.'s entire membership by 1990.

Only 300,000 of the United Steelworkers' one million members work in steel plants. Among its recent "acquisitions" are the former District 50—now largely chemical workers—which seceded from the United Mine Workers, and 40,000 members of the old Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers Union, which was expelled from the C.I.O. in the 1950s for Communist ties. The union also has a considerable membership in the can, aluminum and machine and steel fabricating industries, and among barge workers, retail food workers and in coal mines belonging to steel companies.

The merger of the U.A.W. with New York's 25,000-member District 65, a union of retail, light manufacturing and wholesale workers and clerical employees in various private institutions, illustrates how far diversification among unions has gone. The Teamsters have been in the forefront of the movement, which is giving rise to a new kind of general workers' union in the United States, similar to those in Britain, as the old industrial unions rapidly shed their reliance on dying single industries.

This change has serious implications for union democracy. A case in point was the recent challenge by Edward Sadlowski to the leadership of the Steelworkers. Even though Sadlowski won most steel-plant locals, he lost the election by 60 percent to 40 percent of the votes cast, a reflection of the declining strength of the Steelworkers in their own union. Obviously, no significant challenge to an entrenched administration in the Steelworkers could have succeeded without the support of the peripheral sections of the union, which by the late 1970s had become an overwhelming majority. Today, any challenger would require a full-time staff, a campaign lasting several years and a substantial sum of money for direct mailing and travel. The "rank-and-file" challenge to the established leadership is a myth; only a well-financed professional campaign has any chance of winning in the new conglomerate unions.

The situation in the Teamsters union, where dissident movements have been gaining strength over the past decade, is another example. The most the rebels can hope for is to win a few more local elections and influence the course of negotiations in a handful of branches of the trucking industry. In a general union of more than two million members, the leading rank-and-file opposition group has only 10,000 members and holds a few important local leadership posts. Its remarkable performance in the past several years has shaken the leadership, but it has failed to pose a serious threat to supplant it. The two main dissident groups, Teamsters for a Democratic Union and PROD, which recently merged, can at most count on support from the long-haul

DRAWINGS BY M. G. LORD

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drivers, while the leadership still has a firm hold on more than a dozen other branches of the trucking industry, plus tens of thousands of industrial workers under contract, brewery workers, retail employees, municipal workers, food workers and others largely untouched by the rank-and-file movement.

Thus, the democratic traditions of American industrial unions are further eroded as members are hampered in influencing national union policy by the isolation that their fragmentation into numerous separate unions creates. As Robert Michels pointed out long ago in an analysis of the German Social Democratic Party, the tiny group of officials who control the party press and its organs of communication and decision making are able to exercise undemocratic power over the majority. The old industrial union structure was by no means fully democratic, but now, entrenched leaders not only control the mechanisms of power but sit astride developed bureaucratic structures that work to defuse opposition. The increased bargaining strength the conglomerate unions acquired by mergers has enabled them to make gains in wages and benefits through centralized bargaining, but these same organizational changes have stifled democracy. Unions are becoming service institutions, less subject than ever to democratic accountability. Lacking access to their leaders, the members' grievances flare up in protests against the terms of national agreements, wildcat strikes, slowdowns and occasional revolts against local leadership. The international union has become a policeman, enforcing labor peace and bringing back into line any locals that refuse to accept the national contract. Rank-and-file resistance is made to seem disruptive and shortsighted.

The new conglomerate unions have thus, to a large degree, chosen organizational survival over saving jobs in the shrinking industries where they have their base. At best, their policy is to seek an orderly decline, rather than offer different solutions from those of the corporate and government planners, or, alternatively, to mobilize their membership to protest layoffs and plant closings. And they do so not primarily because of the innate cold-war conservatism of the top leadership, or even callousness toward the rank-and-file membership. The main reason is that the American labor movement is caught up in the deeply despairing mood of the liberal community of which it has been an important part.

At a time when capitalism has failed to deliver the goods as promised, the mood of the country has turned unabashedly pro-capitalist. Reagan economics counsels that the proper function of government is to release resources to private capital so that, in the process of its self-aggrandizement, it may benefit us all. Neoconservative economics, with its monetarist solutions to all problems—jobs, economic growth, inflation—is now the only game in town, and many union members, despairing of Jimmy Carter's ability to handle the economy, voted for Ronald Reagan.

Yet the labor movement has nothing to gain from the current drift of public policy. The causes of economic recession are only partly to be found in the inflationary spiral. Rather than being attributable to excessive money supply caused by runaway government spending or low interest rates, as the monetarists teach, the primary source of America's seemingly irreversible double-digit annual inflation rate is the deterioration of our industrial plant caused by runaway capital. The multinational corporations preside over a new, international division of labor, and they have assigned to the United States the job of administering much of the world market and exporting high technology to low-wage areas in the Third World. The decline of U.S. manufacturing, in which the multinationals have played a major role through plant closings, conglomeration and overseas operations, does more to explain our current and future economic woes than the weekly M1 and M2 money-supply totals.

The trend is toward an economy that emphasizes pushing paper and producing microprocessing technology. The problem with such an economy is that it offers fewer jobs with decent wages and working conditions. It stimulates the growth of an "underground economy" of services that are not reported to the Internal Revenue Service (and therefore do not generate taxes) and the illegal development of marginal, low-wage industries that employ undocumented immigrant workers, who are denied civil and political rights. Older communities die or become prey to commercial and residential real estate development that attracts large corporations, which are willing to put their headquarters in a certain city or town in return for enormous tax concessions, free land and water and willing, low-wage labor.

It may not be possible to stop the runaway shop in its tracks, but it is in the interest of workers and their unions to try to slow the trend. In the first place, instead of tax incentives designed to keep faltering plants alive, or Government subsidies that simply stop the funeral dirge from sounding sooner rather than later, American unions and liberals should turn to the advocacy of a mixed economy. True, public ownership of dying industries merely socializes misery. But when public ownership is combined with public energy corporations that would provide adequate investment for solar and other renewable energy sources, as well as develop cheap domestic fuels, some of these plants could be saved for a long time.

Second, it is remarkable that unions representing workers in declining industries and regions have not demanded, through collective bargaining or Federal legislation, retraining programs for workers who are about to lose their high-paying jobs. Auto workers, who under the current collective agreement earn a basic $9.43 an hour, cannot be expected to accept whatever low-paying service or industrial jobs are available. Today there is a serious shortage of skilled labor in many industries, especially machinists and other specialists in the metal fabricating trades. This shortage has been produced by the boom in defense spending, but also by the atrophy of formal apprenticeships in many companies. Computer programming is also on the rise, as are a variety of occupations in chemical technology. Workers facing un-

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employment in mass-production industries could be offered job-retraining programs in their free time. Laid-off workers could be given compensation and tuition to attend school.

Third, plant migration should be subject to public review and approval. Companies planning to flee to the Sunbelt or Taiwan should be required to show the impact of such removal upon the communities where they are located as well as upon their workers, and a licensing system should be set up for new plants. This would necessitate national legislation to prevent communities from vying with one another for industry. At the same time, unions must strengthen their cooperation with the international labor movement to prevent competition among workers from different countries from driving down wages and driving away jobs. Although this step is extremely difficult, even the attempt would have an educational effect and counter the xenophobia to which international competition gives rise.

Fourth, community-owned, worker-controlled, worker-managed industry is clearly on the agenda. Worker control would not prevent workers from striking against themselves anymore than government ownership of production and energy facilities has eliminated the arm's-length relationship between labor and management. However, in an era when business journals are filled with complaints about declining worker productivity, these worker-managed industries organized by community-owned corporations would alleviate the major cause of declining productivity—runaway industry. Of course, these plants would still be subject to the vicissitudes of the market system, but Government contracts could provide a stable purchaser for some of their output.

Fifth, the energy shortage makes imperative Federal programs for constructing mass transit, health facilities and schools that are near to workplaces. Such a construction program would increase jobs in fabricating industries such as steel, auto, glass and textiles, as well as in the construction industry. Unions in the building trades suffer sharply from low employment because there has been an increase in nonunion work in the commercial and industrial area on top of the traditionally nonunion residential sector. Union members in these trades need a sharp turn in Government policy like that provided by highway construction in the 1950s and 1960s.

Of course, as William Winpisinger of the Machinists union has pointed out, these programs would not be possible without a new defense policy that will recognize that America is already sufficiently strong and bring a halt to the arms race. At the same time, it would mean that labor would be required to act independently in the political arena, generating its own economic and social policies and running its own political candidates. The "realism" that rejects a broad program of industrial reconstruction in favor of patching up existing arrangements that are already hopelessly in tatters makes far less sense than trying something new—something that has the possibility of actually meeting workers' needs.

A bold set of proposals such as I have outlined here would require more than collective bargaining. Like the civil rights campaigns of yesteryear and the drive for the right to bargain with employers without judicially imposed restraints, which culminated in the Wagner Act of 1935, unions would be obliged to take on Congress, state legislatures and the Administration. They would have no choice but to ask their members to commit themselves to a new economic vision for America, one in which workers and unions would play a major role.

The stakes are high as America rolls toward a new era of supply-side economics, the success of which depends on a weakened, docile labor movement. It is uncertain whether unions possess the vitality to rise to the challenge or whether their vitality will be channeled into institutional self-preservation, as it has up till now. Unions need to expand their organizational efforts to the new service and technical sectors, just as they succeeded in winning representation in many parts of the public sector over the past two decades. But these advances are no substitute for an aggressive effort to resist the wholesale loss of traditional labor bastions. The 1980s may be the decade when the question "whither the unions?" becomes synonymous with the question "whither America?" □

A NATIONAL COMMITMENT

Full Employment The Swedish Way

HELEN GINSBURG

"Swedes are not particularly religious," a Swedish official once wrote, "but one thing we do hold almost sacred is everybody's right to work." In 1979, when unemployment was slightly over 2 percent in Sweden, it was considered a major problem. In the United States, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act set a modest *interim* goal of reducing unemployment to 4 percent by 1983. But that act has not been implemented and in recent months, even with unemployment hovering close to 8 percent, job programs have been drastically cut.

For many years, Sweden has maintained a rate of unemployment that runs well below American figures. From 1960 to 1970, joblessness averaged 1.7 percent (adjusted to American methods of measurement), compared with 4.7 percent in the United States. From 1971 to 1979, the comparative figures were 2.1 percent and 6.3 percent. Sweden is not immune to shocks from the world economy, so the differences

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between the two countries cannot be attributed to Sweden's greater prosperity. Clearly, two sharply contrasting social philosophies are involved.

Sweden's Social Democratic Party has traditionally emphasized full employment and social welfare rather than social ownership of industry. As long ago as 1913, the party proposed a program that would now be labeled Keynesian, calling for expansion of the public sector and the use of fiscal policy to assure jobs for all who could work. When the Social Democrats attained power in 1932, their first measure was to implement that policy, and full employment remained a primary goal throughout their reign.

By the end of the 1950s, however, the Keynesian approach had been replaced by the present one, which relies much more heavily on tailoring labor market policies to combat specific kinds of unemployment. This system was originally developed by economists Rudolph Meidner and Gösta Rehn for LO, the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, which is closely allied to the Social Democratic Party. The national commitment to full employment currently cuts across party lines. After forty years in power, the Social Democrats nearly lost the 1973 election because the unemployment rate was nudging 3 percent. In 1976, when they did lose by a small margin to a center-right coalition, nuclear power, not the full-employment policy, was the major issue. The governing center-right coalition has so far continued to pursue full employment and has introduced new measures to combat unemployment. Swedish labor, which is highly organized, plays a crucial role in setting this climate. About 90 percent of blue-collar workers belong to LO and more than 75 percent of white-collar workers belong to TCO, the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions. Both federations give high priority to working for full employment.

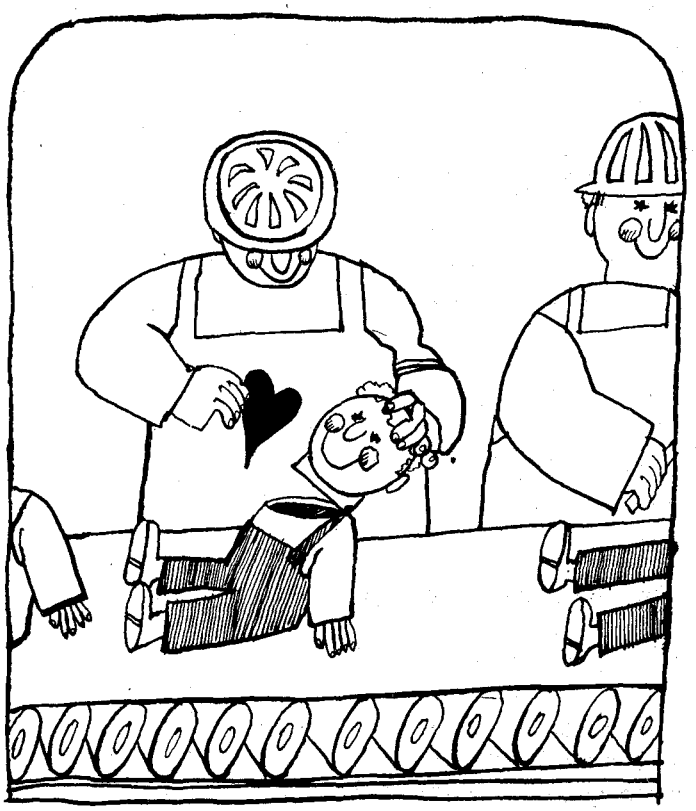
Sweden's labor force is undergoing changes similar to those taking place in the United States. There has been a dramatic shift out of agriculture and forestry, which now employ less than 7 percent of the labor force. Manufacturing and mining employ 26 percent. Services have been growing rapidly (especially in the public sector) and now employ 58 percent of the labor force.

Swedish women, like their American counterparts, have been entering the labor force in large numbers, and women and young people are more likely to be jobless than others. A teen-age unemployment rate of 7 to 8 percent aroused much concern in recent years. The unemployment rate among immigrants, who make up 5 percent of the work force (10 percent, if foreign-born Swedish citizens and their children are included), is about double the national average, a proportion similar to that of blacks in the United States. One dissimilarity with the United States is that unemployment in Sweden has not been concentrated in urban areas. There are strong regional disparities, however. The north, with one-seventh of the population, usually has about 40 percent of the unemployment.

Full-employment policy was maintained in the 1970s, but it had to be implemented in a much harsher economic climate than in the 1960s. Sweden is highly dependent on exports—much more so than the United States. The depth and length of the recent international recession cut sharply into foreign demand for Swedish products. Sweden also has one of the world's highest wage levels and thus faces fierce competition in foreign markets. In some traditionally important industries, shipbuilding and steel, for instance, deep-seated structural problems have surfaced. Finally, lacking domestic coal and oil, the country is potentially very vulnerable to rising energy costs.

Yet despite these adverse economic factors, the Swedes have not weakened their commitment to full employment, although greater effort was required to reach that goal. Why did they accelerate their efforts rather than scale down the goal?

The answer is that the Swedish commitment to full employment is politically unassailable. Even though it has traditionally been regarded as an important means of raising the output of goods and services, and hence living standards, it is not viewed solely in economic terms. It is also linked to other vital social goals. Sweden's generous and comprehensive social welfare system, for example, is rooted in the notion of jobs for all. Not only would high unemployment mean more dependency, thus making social welfare expenditures a greater economic burden, but the concept of "normalization" is fundamental to the Swedish social welfare system; that is, the goal is to enable everyone to live as normal a life as possible and "to reduce the risk of isolation, loneliness and alienation." And work is considered the key to a normal life. In short, a job is considered a basic right. Also, the job-development effort that is intrinsic to full-employment policy is channeled into other highly regarded social welfare programs such as expanding and upgrading services for the ill, disabled, elderly, mothers and children. Finally, in line with Sweden's strong egalitarian ethos, there



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is heavy reliance on employment policy to bring about equality among regions and income groups, between the sexes, for the disabled and for immigrants.

The Government has at its command a wide variety of tools to combat unemployment, including some, such as job training and government-created jobs (called relief work), that are also used in the United States but on a lesser scale or only during times of crisis. In Sweden they are used on a vast scale, even when unemployment is below what most American policy makers and economists regard as "full employment." Thus, in the first quarter of 1979, when Swedish unemployment was 2.4 percent and 100,000 were "openly" unemployed (i.e., actively looking for work), the number of people in relief jobs and job training combined was 120,000 (about half in each)—or more than the total number of jobless. The equivalent at that time in the United States, with open unemployment of 6 percent and with six million openly jobless, would have been more than seven million in government-created jobs and training programs.

The main government body for shaping and implementing employment policy is the National Labor Market Board, an important agency that typically receives from 8 to 9 percent of the national budget from Parliament. Labor and management both sit on the board, but the unions have more seats. At the heart of Swedish full-employment policy are various measures to *create* employment although recently there has been a growing emphasis on measures to prevent layoffs and dismissals. Job-creation measures run the gamut from influencing private-sector investment incentives to relief work. Firms can set aside a proportion of profits in an Investment Reserve Fund with substantial tax advantages. The Labor Market Board allocates funds from these reserves for tax-free investment in approved projects during economic downturns and at any time for regional development. Relief work at regular wages is extensively used and projects are planned prior to the onset of a crisis to insure that they meet real needs.

A number of measures to maintain workers were developed during the recessions of the 1970s. Subsidies were granted to firms that kept workers on the job building up inventories while the international recessions ran their course. Some firms were subsidized for in-plant training of personnel as an alternative to layoffs. Legislation has also given more security of employment to the worker. In general, it has been made more difficult to dismiss persons with the most severe re-employment problems—namely, older or handicapped workers. Legislation requiring advance warning of impending layoffs does not prevent job loss but it does give the Employment Service more time to plan for the placement of workers in other jobs.

Job training has a permanent and important role to play in combating unemployment. Labor Market Training Centers are located throughout Sweden and offer about 400 different courses lasting anywhere from several weeks to several years. In addition to specific occupational training, there are general courses in Swedish, math and so forth. Special courses have been developed for such groups as young people, housewives who have never worked and immigrants who may need language training in addition to skill development. (Employers are required by law to grant immigrants 240 hours of released time with pay for instruction in Swedish.) Persons attending Labor Market Training Centers receive a stipend slightly higher than unemployment benefits.

There is also a constellation of measures for the handicapped. These include well-developed rehabilitation and training programs, some of them at Labor Market Training Centers, some of them at specialized rehabilitation centers. The general aim is to enable the handicapped to hold jobs in regular workplaces. There are also payments for specially designed tools, subsidies to firms to enable them to redesign the workplace for specific handicapped persons, loans and grants to the disabled that help them to start a business. Subsidized sheltered and semi-sheltered employment and homework are also used. Relief work is also extensively utilized for the handicapped. In recent years, "adjustment groups" of management, unions and the Employment Service have been established in every workplace with more than fifty persons to deal with specific problems of the handicapped at that workplace. An unresolved problem is the deterioration of the employment situation for disabled people who do not have jobs.

Women and young people are also the objects of special programs. Relief work was originally oriented toward construction. With the large-scale entrance of women into the labor market, there has been a shift toward the development of relief jobs in nursing and other service work. These are mostly jobs traditionally held by women. To work toward the stated goal of equality, simultaneous efforts are being made to erode the sex-tagging of occupations. One example is a subsidy to firms that hire women for men's work and men for women's work. Since lack of child-care facilities deters many mothers from entering the labor market, a form of disguised or "latent" unemployment results. To overcome this, Parliament has enacted a five-year plan to expand day-care facilities.

Labor market training and relief jobs were not originally meant for young people less than 20 years old. But with rising youth unemployment, some training courses and relief jobs have been redesigned for youngsters. Simultaneously, the Employment Service has expanded efforts to place young people in regular jobs. Labor market authorities have also been working directly with youngsters still in school and with the staffs of schools.

In addition to policies already mentioned, there are special measures to help regions with higher than average unemployment. An important development is the shift in emphasis from an earlier policy that stressed moving workers out of high-unemployment areas. Mobility grants were paid to the unemployed, who were helped to find jobs elsewhere. This is still done. But political opposition to that policy from Swedes who do not want to pull up stakes has mounted. Originally championed by the Center Party, it is now also accepted by the Social Democrats. Effort is now

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being directed toward creating jobs in areas where they are sparse—mainly in the north—through special subsidies, loans and grants. Opportunities for women in the north are ordinarily poor because of the heavy concentration of traditionally male jobs in forestry, construction and steel. Therefore, to qualify for development support, firms are required to employ at least 40 percent of either sex.

Clearly, the engine that propels the entire system is political commitment. There is nothing inherent in the Swedish economy that produces full employment or even low unemployment. Without extraordinary effort, Swedish unemployment would easily be more than double its present rate. Swedes recognize that some solutions are only stopgap measures. But it is considered preferable, for example, to have more people temporarily in training and relief jobs than openly unemployed. In coming years, the international economic situation may exacerbate Sweden's domestic employment problem. In fact, between May and August, unemployment rose from 1.6 percent to 2 percent and a recession is expected in 1981. Therefore, a continued high level of effort—and perhaps an even higher one—will be required to attain the same results.

What of the future? It all depends. So far there has only been a slight shift in political power from the Social Democrats. The ruling coalition, with a bare one-vote majority in Parliament, cannot alter policies in any major way. But a serious erosion from the Social Democrats or from labor could weaken the commitment to full employment.

Immigrants pose a large problem for the future. Sweden's full-employment policy was originally developed when its labor force was homogeneous, and it is now entering an era when this is no longer the case. Because of their relative youth, the proportion of immigrants in the population will increase even without more immigration. So far, there has been a commitment by the Government to equality for immigrants. Immigrants are covered by the same social benefits and job rights, for instance, and noncitizens with three years of residence can even vote in local (though not national) elections. Nevertheless, if immigrants are not integrated into Swedish society and into the labor movement, some fear that they will become a permanent underclass. That could lead to a breakdown of traditional working-class solidarity, create exceptions to the commitment to full employment and a rise in the level of tolerable unemployment.

Finally, there is the question of the future of private enterprise. Social Democrats never made nationalization an important part of their ideology and most industry is still privately owned. If it becomes impossible to achieve full employment under the present form of capitalism, there may be an increased emphasis on social control of investment. Already, LO has proposed more worker control through employee investment funds (the Meidner plan). While the Social Democrats look favorably on the idea, they are not yet committed to it.

In the past, Sweden has met a considerable number of challenges by retailoring policies without dropping its commitment to full employment. The big question for the 1980s is how the new challenges will be met. □

RIGHTIST PARAJOURNALISM

The I.P.S. and Its Enemies

ARYEH NEIER

The Spike, the best-selling novel by Arnaud de Borchgrave, until recently senior editor and chief foreign correspondent for *Newsweek*, and Robert Moss, syndicated columnist for *The London Daily Telegraph* and editor of *Foreign Report*, a publication of *The Economist*, is a tall tale about a conspiracy to bring down the United States. As Andrew Kopkind pointed out [see "Classic Disliterature," *The Nation*, November 1], the purpose of this tale—aside from enriching its authors—"is to discredit the American left and the liberals who opposed the war in Vietnam and still seek to reform the institutional system that supports imperial adventure."

At the center of the conspiracy to bring down the United States, according to *The Spike*, is the Institute for Progressive Reform (I.P.R.). Here is how a character in the novel, Kramar, who is a senior official in the K.G.B., describes the I.P.R. to an agent being transferred to Washington:

> "The Institute for Progressive Reform, I.P.R., will be at the center of your work in Washington."
>
> Kramar explained. He recalled that in the late 1940s, Moscow Center had helped to establish another Washington foundation—the Institute of Pacific Relations—as a cover for espionage work and as a means of recruiting and coordinating Soviet sympathizers in the American administration. That foundation had collapsed after the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury and the testimony of Soviet defectors revealed its true functions to the American public. The new Institute had been constructed on an even more ambitious scale. The aim was to use the prevailing antiwar sentiment in the United States and the widespread sympathy of young Americans for radical third-world causes to penetrate and, when possible, manipulate the key institutions in Washington: Congress, the media, and the administration itself.
>
> "In other words," Kramar summarized, "we are recruiting under a false flag. It is imperative that it remain impossible for anyone to prove a direct organizational link between ourselves and the Institute. Most of the people who will be drawn into the orbit of the Institute will come because they see it as a more effective way of expressing opposition to the system of government that dragged America into Vietnam than the revolt on the streets and on the campuses. If an extreme reactionary, like Nixon, is elected, such people will come in greater and greater numbers. They already include people with access to highly classified information—information that the Institute will know how to use to maximum advantage."

De Borchgrave and Moss have the virtue (and it is their only one) of describing their work as fiction. But *The Spike*

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has its counterparts in a number of recent purportedly factual articles attacking the Institute for Policy Studies (I.P.S.), the liberal/radical Washington think tank that is the real-life model for the Institute for Progressive Reform in *The Spike*. The accusations against the I.P.S. are almost as slanderous as the avowed fiction of de Borchgrave and Moss.

Several of the attacks on the Institute for Policy Studies have been written by Rael Jean Isaac, who describes herself as a "political sociologist" (see following article). The lengthiest of these appears in the June/July issue of *Midstream*, a publication of the Theodor Herzl Foundation. Although the Institute does not advocate policies but limits itself to providing fellowships to scholars and writers who are free to express their own views, Isaac attributes those views, which she distorts, to the Institute itself. Those policies, she writes in *Midstream*, include urging "United States withdrawal of support for 'reactionary' regimes worldwide." So far, the distortion is trivial, though I.P.S. fellows whose writings I have followed seem to focus not on "reactionary" regimes (even though Isaac puts this word in quotes, suggesting simultaneously that it is the word used by the I.P.S. and that it is misleading), but on regimes, like General Zia's in Pakistan, that brutally suppress human rights. But it is Isaac's next sentence, typical of her style, that matters: "Once that is done, I.P.S. is quite confident in the ability of 'progressive' forces (backed presumably by the 'progressive' arms of Cuba, the Soviet Union, et al.) to achieve victory." Compiling evidence in this fashion, Isaac delivers her verdict a few paragraphs later: "I.P.S. can fairly be described as an enormous intelligence operation practicing both covert action and subversion."

Because the I.P.S. itself takes no stands on political issues, it is difficult to rebut such charges except at great length. The task can be accomplished expeditiously, however, on the occasions when Isaac gets down to cases and discusses specific individuals associated with the Institute. Here is the way she characterizes the writings of one of its founders, Richard Barnet:

> Richard Barnet contrasts "substantive" and "procedural" freedoms. We have the "procedural" freedoms (speech, the press, assembly) while the Soviet Union has the more solid-sounding "substantive" freedoms (medical care, jobs, housing). Barnet asserts on his own authority that he is sure that Soviet citizens, if given the choice between the two, would select their "substantive" freedom. What I.P.S. Fellows never concede is that the Soviet Union poses any threat to the United States. Soviet behavior is invariably defined as "defensive" in nature.[6]

Footnote 6 refers us to Barnet's 1977 book, *The Giants*. Apparently, Isaac doesn't expect her readers to examine her source. On doing so, one finds that immediately following the passage in which the terms "procedural" and "substantive" freedoms are used, Barnet writes:

> Observations of this sort are sometimes offered as apologies for the outrageous behavior of Soviet officials toward their own citizens, as if there were no alternative to repression. But as [Andrei] Sakharov writes, the survival of the Soviet Union requires the spread of procedural freedoms, for without them the substantive rights cannot be the basis of civilization, only bare existence.

This is followed by a discussion of the failure of the Soviet Union to comply with the human-rights accords it signed at Helsinki in 1975 and its repression of dissent through the use of mental hospitals, which are described by Barnet as an "Orwellian horror story." The book as a whole is about the nuclear arms race, portraying the activities of "the giants," both the Soviet Union and the United States, as a threat to world peace.

Isaac's accusation of "subversion" is repeated in the pages of *Barron's*, which published two lengthy excerpts from her *Midstream* article. And it has gained currency in odd places such as *The Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, which ran a long editorial on the I.P.S. headed "Hate America, Inc." The editorial raises a question not addressed by Isaac: "Is the I.P.S. subsidized by the Soviet Union?" The answer: "Isaac isn't sure. He [*sic*] is sure that 'I.P.S. has consistently advocated policies that accord with the Soviet line, whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), support for Soviet-linked revolutionary groups, apologies for Soviet expansion, etc.' Brian Crozier, director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict, says the I.P.S. is the 'perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the K.G.B.' " In short, *The Worcester Telegram & Gazette* builds on Isaac and Crozier to imply that the I.P.S. is probably funded by the K.G.B.

Much of the attack on the I.P.S. is focused on its association with the late Orlando Letelier, Ambassador to Washington and, subsequently, Minister of Defense in the Allende Government in Chile until the 1973 military coup, which installed Gen. Augusto Pinochet as President. While in exile in the United States, Letelier was selected by the Institute for Policy Studies to head its international program, the Transnational Institute (grotesquely transformed into the Multinational Institute in *The Spike*). On September 21, 1976, agents of the Pinochet Government murdered Letelier and 25-year-old Ronni Karpen Moffitt, a fund-raiser on the staff of the I.P.S., by exploding a bomb in the car in which they were riding in Washington with Moffitt's husband, Michael.

I.P.S.'s sin in this matter, it appears, is that the assassination made a martyr of Letelier. Accordingly, the Institute's enemies and apologists for the Pinochet Government have undertaken a campaign to discredit Letelier and, in the process, to attack the Institute for employing him. The centerpiece of this campaign has been a letter from Salvador Allende's daughter found in Letelier's briefcase after he was murdered. It informed Letelier that the remnant of Allende's political party would pay him $1,000 a month "to support your work," presumably his work against the Pinochet Government. The letter was mailed from Havana, where Beatriz Allende was living with her husband, a Cuban Government official.

According to Rael Isaac, the letter in the murdered man's

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briefcase proves the insidious influence of the I.P.S. Various newspapers, she writes, paid no attention to it, showing that "the long-cultivated I.P.S. relationship with the media paid off." As for the assassination itself, Isaac contends that the contents of Letelier's briefcase require us to see it in a different light because "the killing of the agent of one foreign country by the agents of another is a rather different story from the wanton murder of a liberal exiled diplomat dedicated to human rights."

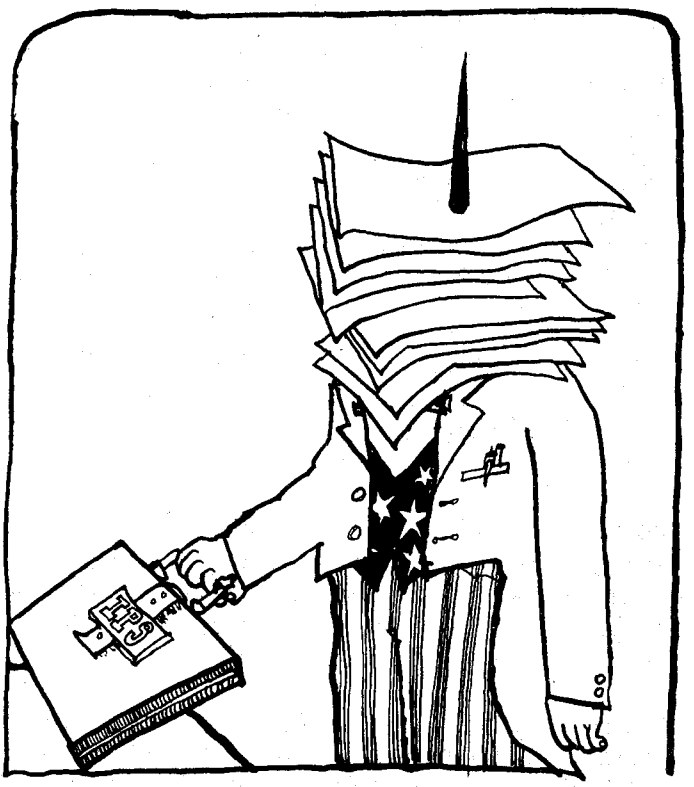
The charge that the Institute for Policy Studies was able to keep Beatriz Allende's letter out of the American press is more paranoia than substance. It also omits the fact that much of the letter is reprinted in *Assassination on Embassy Row*, a book about the Letelier-Moffitt murders by I.P.S. staff member Saul Landau and journalist John Dinges. Their book was published about the same time Isaac's article appeared and, given the ordinary publishing schedule, must have been submitted in final form to Pantheon Books at least nine months earlier.

Even stranger is Isaac's contention that the letter makes the Letelier-Moffitt murders "a rather different story." Different how? Since Letelier had been a prominent official in the Allende Government of Chile and was a prominent opponent of the Pinochet Government, the letter in the briefcase hardly seems surprising. It does not demonstrate that he was a foreign agent—as that term is generally understood—anymore, for example, than a letter from one Russian dissident in exile to another offering to finance anti-Soviet work would show that the recipient is a foreign agent. And, if Letelier was an "agent of one foreign country," is his murder in Washington less shocking? And what about the murder of Ronni Moffitt? Is it less appalling? Isaac seems to answer these questions in the affirmative.

Assassination on Embassy Row was reviewed by associate editor John Boland in *Barron's*, which has shown itself editorially sympathetic to the Pinochet regime. Twenty of the twenty-three paragraphs of the review are devoted to discrediting Letelier and the I.P.S. by focusing on the evidence of the letter in Letelier's briefcase. The book was reviewed in *The National Review* by Robert Moss, one of the authors of *The Spike*. In contrast to Isaac and Boland, Moss has the decency to write, "Civilized people of all persuasions must be outraged by the murder of a political exile in the streets of Washington." That behind him, however, Moss quickly reverts to the manner he favors when openly writing fiction. To rehabilitate General Pinochet, he recites the names of some other tyrants and asserts that their "methods make Pinochet, by comparison, look eligible to join the board of Amnesty International." Further proof of the Chilean dictator's virtue is presumably provided by the assertion that he "has good relations with the Israelis." And even though the Allende letter is reprinted in the book, Moss writes that "I.P.S.'s friends in the media [tried] to spike coverage." (His use of the title of his book in this sentence affirms the fictional I.P.R.'s connection with the real I.P.S.) Finally, to explain away the publication of Beatriz Allende's letter in Dinges and Landau's book, Moss writes, "They only get around to mentioning the Letelier papers on page 268 of their book," implying that the letter explains the assassination, that its appearance in the middle of the book is evidence of a cover-up by the authors and that the letter was only mentioned when actually the main part of it was reprinted.

Kicking the Institute for Policy Studies is a popular sport in right-wing newsletters such as *Information Digest*, which has put out such material for more than a decade. It is rather startling, however, to see the Institute labeled "a support system for Soviet policies" in the newsletter of an organization listing the late Hans J. Morgenthau as its chairman. This organization, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, gave over most of its February newsletter to one of Rael Jean Isaac's attacks on the I.P.S. It turns out, however, that Morgenthau, who had been ailing, had no knowledge of the attack. When it was brought to his attention, he wrote this letter:

> My attention has been called to the Newsletter of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy entitled "New-Left Input Into United States Foreign Policy." The issue hardly deals with United States foreign policy at all, but is an attempt to smear the Institute for Policy Studies with the pro-Communist and pro-Soviet brush. Having been a founding trustee of the Institute for Policy Studies, in the respected company of law professors, college presidents, and Federal judges, I am well acquainted with the character and philosophy of the leading individuals of the Institute and their activities.
>
> On the basis of that knowledge I can testify that we are not dealing here with a "newsletter" but a slanderous attempt to smear a perfectly respectable, however minority, point of view. Since I do not wish to be associated with an organization indulging in such practices, I tender herewith my resignation both as Chairman and member of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.



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A few weeks later, Morgenthau died. His resignation did not prevent the National Committee on American Foreign Policy from continuing to exploit his name after his death. The organization sponsored a Memorial Convocation for Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau on September 15, at which Henry Kissinger delivered the eulogy.

Robust criticism of the views of the Institute's fellows and its sponsorship of their work, and even name-calling, are, of course, only fair. Those who take part in public policy debates may hardly expect to get by with less. For myself, I have found much in the writings of those associated with the Institute with which I disagree heartily (and much with which I agree heartily), and I have no hesitation about expressing my views in strong language. But criticism, however heavy-handed, is one thing; explicit or implicit accusations that the Institute practices "covert action and subversion" (in Rael Isaac's words) are quite another matter. Despite the number of times the accusations are repeated, there is not a shred of substantiating evidence. The purpose and effect of such accusations is to intimidate rather than to persuade. They poison debate.

About thirty years separated the post-World War I "Red Scare" and the one after World War II. Now that another thirty years have elapsed, the accusations against the Institute for Policy Studies suggest that the cycle is starting anew. De Borchgrave and Moss are calling for a new round of Congressional hearings to expose subversives. They must not be allowed to promote a new Red Scare. The propaganda disguised as fiction in *The Spike* should be spiked by old-fashioned democratic criticism and name-calling, which would serve as a healthy contrast to the novel's wild accusations of subversion. To start the ball rolling, let me say that de Borchgrave, Moss, Isaac, the editors of *Midstream*, the editors of *Barron's*, the editors of *The Worcester Telegram & Gazette* and the nonprotesting officers of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy are contemptible slander-mongers. □

DISINFORMATION PLEASE

The Rael Isaac Story

HILLEL LEVIN

Who is Rael Jean Isaac? Recipient of a Ph.D. in sociology from the City University of New York in 1971 and the author of a generally well-received book on Israeli politics, Isaac has attracted attention during the last few years for a series of articles exposing conspiracies on the left. Some of her articles are extensively footnoted, suggesting ample documentation.

Hillel Levin is a staff writer for New York *magazine.*

Most of Isaac's articles deal with organizations she portrays as enemies of Israel. These include Breira, a now-defunct organization created by prominent American Jewish supporters of Israel who favored policies toward Israel's Arab residents and Arab neighbors sharply different from those of the Israeli Government; Peace Now, an Israeli group that has recently attracted support from some American-Jewish supporters of Israel; and the Israeli Labor Party, which governed Israel prior to the 1977 electoral triumph of Menachem Begin's Likud coalition.

In a 1977 article in *Judaism*, Isaac and her husband, Erich Isaac, a geology professor at the City University of New York, accused the Labor Party of harboring "misperceptions of the Arab threat." By not responding to Arab terror in kind, the Isaacs charge, early Labor leaders like Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion "confirmed deep-seated uncomplimentary stereotypes of the Jewish character." In 1967, timid Labor did not go far enough, according to the Isaacs, because it failed "to exert control over the banks of the Suez Canal," thereby not becoming a "factor in the ultimate disposition of Middle Eastern oil." They conclude "that either Israel will be a regional power or it will cease to exist."

Isaac's attack on Breira was in the form of a twenty-eight-page pamphlet published by Americans for a Safe Israel. Twenty-two of its pages were devoted to a warped rundown of the past associations of Breira's members. Her major charges focused on two individuals with peripheral connections with Breira. One was once associated with the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), a group he left when he became an ardent Zionist (which she failed to mention); the other, who at the time was a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, she tied to MERIP through the activities of others at the I.P.S. On the strength of such evidence, Isaac labeled the leaders of Breira "Jews for Fatah."

Peace Now was the target of an article that Isaac recently submitted to *Midstream*, the magazine that ran her major article on the Institute for Policy Studies, and one on the "Rabbis of Breira," which was simply a reprint of much of the material in her pamphlet. *Midstream* rejected the article on Peace Now, which included an attack on Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, the distinguished former president of the American Jewish Congress. Hertzberg, whose sin apparently lay in attending a conference in Washington organized by American supporters of Peace Now, saw the article. He found the first two-thirds fairly accurate, but says, "The rest was filled with innuendo. What I find most shocking is that she did not first contact anyone associated with the conference before she released the article."

Isaac's documentation for her *Midstream* article on the I.P.S. provides an example of her methods. Of her forty-six footnotes, nine refer to *Information Digest*, a newsletter published and entirely written by John Rees, who also serves as Washington correspondent for the John Birch Society's weekly *Review of the News* [see Levin, "The 'Information Digest' Ploy," *The Nation*, October 7, 1978]. (Rees's wife, Louise Rees, who once worked as a volunteer at the Institute

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for Policy Studies, subsequently was a paid F.B.I. informant.) Two are references to the *Congressional Record* and turn out to be extensions of remarks by Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia, a member of the national council of the John Birch Society and, incidentally, a consistent opponent of aid to Israel. Other footnotes refer to a Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing, which turns out to feature the testimony of McDonald, and a staff report for the now defunct House Internal Security Committee written by a former McDonald staffer. Five other citations refer to analyses prepared by the right-wing Heritage Foundation. Seven footnotes imply substantiation but, upon closer examination, turn out only to make further allegations. Another cites an article by Joseph Shattan entitled "Why Breira?" which appeared in *Commentary*. The citation is offered as verification of the contents of an internal I.P.S. memo. This is keeping it in the family, to say the least, for the main source Shattan cites for *his* article is none other than Rael Jean Isaac's Breira pamphlet. □

Carter

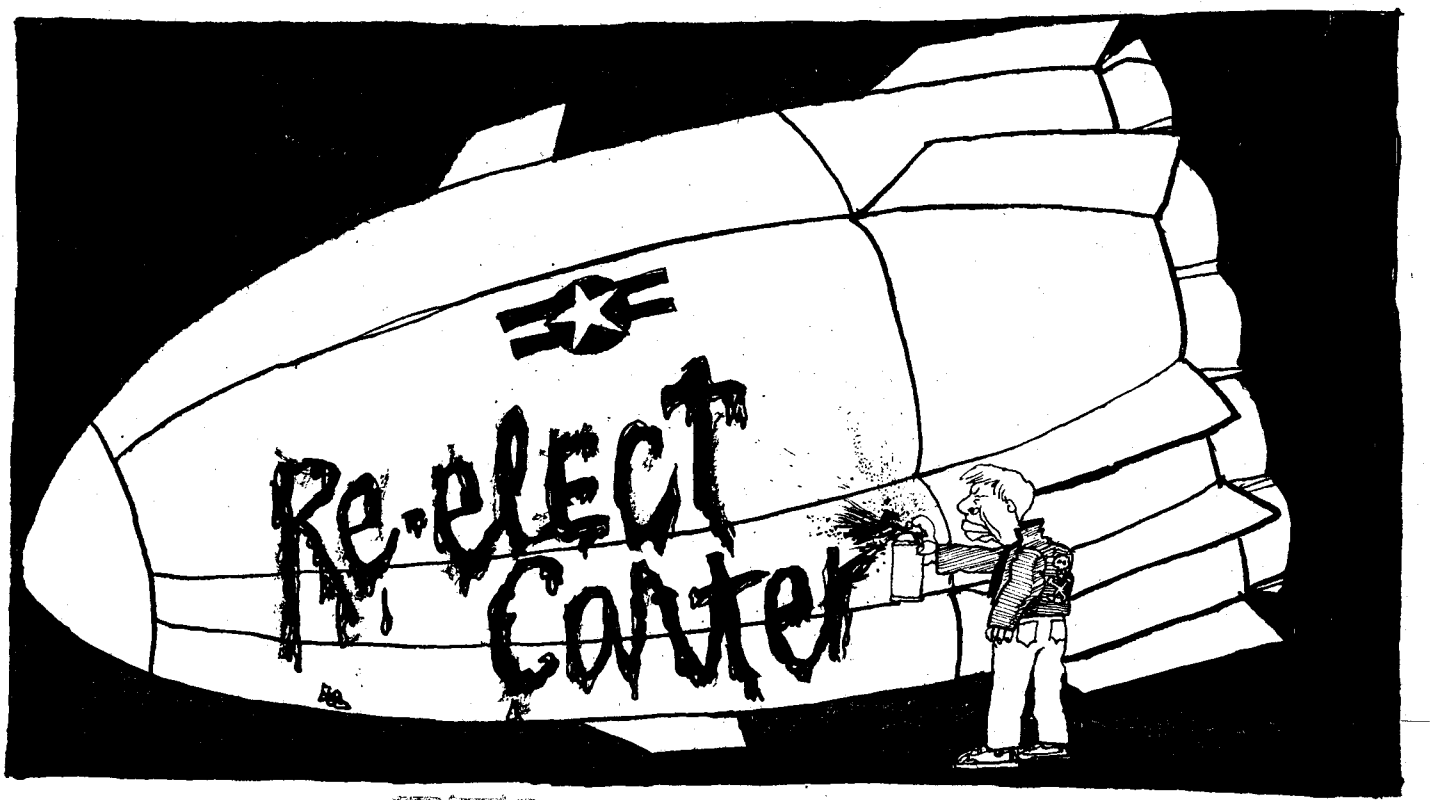
(Continued From Front Cover)

utterly paramount. To understand how much this was the case we need only remind ourselves of the decisions Carter made in two of the most crucial areas of foreign affairs, the Middle East and East-West relations.

In his one term, Jimmy Carter produced another in the long line of doctrines named after the Presidents who proclaim them. In response to turmoil in the Middle East (the Iranian revolution and the taking of American hostages, followed shortly thereafter by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan), the President announced that America's vital interests in the Middle East would be protected. Much confusion was engendered as a result—had not America always sought to protect its vital interests anywhere in the world? Foreign policy specialists and scholars puzzled over the Carter Doctrine like archeologists, but they never could find its meaning. No wonder—they assumed that the Carter Doctrine had something to do with foreign policy. In actual fact, the Carter Doctrine translated into the following: the President of the United States shall deem it his responsibility to take any and all actions necessary to insure the security of—the President of the United States. The Carter Doctrine was issued so that the President could sound tough, and then, having made its point, it was forgotten.

Actually, Jimmy Carter had three doctrines in his term, and each corresponded to a distinct stage in his eternal quest for re-election. First, there was the Doctrine of No Doctrine. Early on in the Administration, Leslie Gelb, Director of Politico-Military Affairs and one of the more promising early Carter appointees, announced to the Army War College that "There is no Carter Doctrine, or Vance Doctrine, or Brown Doctrine because of a belief that the environment we are looking at is far too complex to be reduced to a doctrine in the tradition of post-World War II American foreign policy. Indeed, the Carter approach to foreign policy rests on a belief that not only is the world too complex to be reduced to a doctrine but that there is something inherently wrong with having a doctrine at all."

Gelb's Doctrine of No Doctrine corresponded to the period when the primal political instinct of the incoming Carter Administration was to differentiate itself as much as possible from the Nixon Administration. This was difficult



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to do since the chief architect of the latter, Henry Kissinger, and the major-domo of the former, Zbigniew Brzezinski, had identical ideas. Undeterred, Carter went ahead anyway, for since there most definitely had been a Nixon Doctrine, there would most definitely not be a Carter one. Unfortunately for Carter, and for Gelb, the Doctrine of No Doctrine could not work. It has been said ad nauseam that Americans are an undoctrinaire people, given to the pragmatic and rooted in experience. Nothing could be further from the truth. Americans are extremely doctrinaire, as the victor in the 1980 campaign demonstrated. Reagan ran an academic campaign, based on pure abstractions (the free market, the free world) divorced from experience, existing only in the mind. Especially in foreign policy, Americans crave doctrine, and if Carter would not provide it, someone else would. Thus, by not announcing a doctrine, Carter found his political base being undermined by a concerted attack from the right.

Shifting quickly, the Administration decided to meet the threat head on. Leaping dialectically over history, the Carter Administration proposed the Doctrine of Two Doctrines, at a point very nearly in the middle of the term. From now on, the Americans would stand up to the Russians, as Brzezinski had all along desired. But since Gelb, Cyrus Vance and other pragmatists were still in high places, and since the fallout from Vietnam had not settled, America would also seek détente. Thus the foreign policies of Harry Truman and Richard Nixon were linked. The Administration would simultaneously seek competition and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The Doctrine of Two Doctrines quieted, for a time, the squabbling in Washington, but it was far too inscrutable for the American people, who like to know who is their friend and who is their enemy. Carter had hoped, through the Doctrine of Two Doctrines, to unify the dovish and hard-liner wings of the Democratic Party, which have been around since World War II. Unity, however, existed only as long as U.S. power was uncontested in the world and growth and expansion patched over differences. When trade-offs and choices had to be made, due to declining hegemony and increasing austerity, then the old formula could no longer work. Attempting to unify his constituencies with two doctrines, Carter found himself increasingly vulnerable. Satisfying neither Henry Jackson and the Committee on the Present Danger nor George Ball and the liberal Trilateralists, Carter seemed defeatable by someone in his own party. (Ted Kennedy, for example, had ties to both Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jackson on the right and to the anti-MX forces on the left.)

Thus, finally, did the Doctrine of One Doctrine emerge, not to protect America from the Arabs but to protect Jimmy Carter from Kennedy. The road to renomination led through war scares, Presidential declarations and the Soviet threat. The further Carter moved toward a classic Trumanesque doctrine of simplistic anti-Soviet impulses, the more secure his renomination became. Thus, it would be incorrect, in my view, to attach too much seriousness to Carter's announcement of a new doctrine for the Middle East. The Carter Doctrine was a shift to the right when the threat was from the left, just as during the campaign against Reagan, Carter shifted to the left when the threat was from the right, exhuming a SALT treaty that had been thought decomposed by everyone except the President.

Nonetheless, the existence of three Carter doctrines in four years does signify that Carter was unable to develop a consistent policy in the Middle East because of his absorption in public opinion polls. Radically divided between its understanding of global realities, which compelled one course of action, and its taste for the nuances of domestic politics, which demanded another, the Administration could generally be counted on to do the opposite of what it said. On two vital Middle East issues in particular, the Carter Administration became trapped between international realities and domestic considerations: the Camp David "settlement" and the Iranian-Iraqi war.

As every President knows, there will be no peace in the world until a settlement is arranged between the Israelis and the Palestinians. No settlement, in turn, can be arranged until international pressure is brought upon Israel to accept one, and no single individual can bring more pressure to bear than the President of the United States. Yet, as we all know, no President feels that he can carry New York State unless he kowtows to the Israeli leadership. The impasse is tragic, and it is fully as responsible for threats to Israel's security as is the notion of an external invasion. For the long-term sake of everyone in the world, including the Israelis, there has to be an American President who can stand up to the Begin regime, or any other intransigent force, in order to stimulate some movement. (My emphasis here is on Israel, not because I hold that country solely responsible for the impasse—in that part of the world, everyone is at fault—but because the Palestinians have no territory to concede.) By this criterion, Carter clearly understood what needed to be done, but just as clearly refused to do it as re-election time rolled around.

The second lowest point of the 1980 campaign—the absolute bottom was Presidential Directive 59, of which more shortly—was when the Carter Administration repudiated its own vote in the United Nations on a resolution to condemn one more time the Israeli occupation of Arab land. Here was the Doctrine of Two Doctrines in full view: the Administration announced a *foreign* foreign policy premised upon movement and a *domestic* foreign policy premised upon intransigence. Carter did incalculable damage to a Middle East settlement by showing himself so willing to bend to domestic expediency. For at this point the key to a Middle East settlement was the creation of an authority viewed as legitimate by both sides in the struggle. Carter, because he pursued two foreign policies at once, had little legitimacy; the Israelis did not trust him because his delegate voted for

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the resolution in the first place, and the Palestinians were suspicious because he changed his mind (and then lied by suggesting that it was all due to a breakdown in communications).

An intermingling of domestic and international realities also fouled up Carter's attempts to make sense out of Iranian-American relations. Carter's famous praise of the Shah in a Washington toast, for example, was not addressed to the Pahlevi dynasty but to Henry Kissinger and the ever-looming Iran lobby in the United States. Ignoring its own Central Intelligence agents, the ones out in the field who knew that the regime was finished, the Administration, ever committed to dogma, was unprepared when the revolution broke out. Never recognizing that fundamentalist Moslems were as anti-Communist as himself, and seemingly unaware that no Iranian Government would look favorably at the Russians to the north, Carter forced the new regime in Iran into an anti-American posture, which rigidified as the revolution began to fail. Under attack from the right in his country, the President whipped up anti-Iranian sentiment because his domestic program was in shambles, while the Ayatollah Khomeini, under attack from the right in his, found anti-Americanism a perfect pretext for abandoning a socialist reconstruction of Iran.

Geopolitics literally demands an Iranian-American alliance, even if the leaders of both countries do not recognize it. Iran's suspicion of Russian expansionism predates not only all American doctrines but America itself. As a substantial element in the U.S. State Department understood, Iran without the Shah was a stronger potential counterweight to the Soviet Union than Iran with the Shah. Yet under Carter, foreign policy was not made in the State Department but in Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, where anti-Communist zealots with close ties to the intelligence community monitored public officials for any signs of anti-Shah sentiment. Unwilling to confront the right, Carter began to alienate himself from the very regime in Iran that was capable of carrying out a global policy. When the hostages were taken, Carter found himself in the indefensible position of needing the support of the Iranian revolution for his foreign policy but also needing to attack the revolution for his domestic purposes. Just as Iran itself was split over the question of whether to release the hostages, the U.S. Government was split over how to secure their release.

Under these conditions, the Iraqi invasion of Iran doubled the confusion. Whether they actually provided help to the Iraqis or not, American intelligence agencies were clearly happy to have this war, for it worked to undermine the Ayatollah's regime and worked toward the release of the hostages. Yet the State Department needed a strong government in Iran, and the Ayatollah's was the strongest it could hope to find. Thus the United States was indeed "neutral" in the war, for it tilted—or more correctly, different parts of the American state tilted—toward both sides at the same time. Local conflicts that do not follow strict East-West divisions, such as the Iraqi-Iranian war, need subtle treatment, while foreign policies made for domestic consumption have to be simple-minded and crude. The Carter Administration, in one way or another, was giving both sides help, yet, at one time or another, was claiming that both sides were Soviet satellites. A more confusing foreign policy would be hard to invent.

The crux of Carter's failure in the Middle East, then, is the gap between the world as it is—complex, confusing and unmanageable—and the world as an American President worried about domestic support must present it —unambiguous, light versus darkness, malleable. If this is true for the Middle East, it is even more compelling when U.S.-Soviet relations are concerned, for there are two Soviet Unions in the world today: one, the Soviet Union that actually exists (cautious, declining, conservative, interested in a big-power condominium) and the other, the Soviet Union of the American imagination (ever-expanding, strong beyond belief, opportunistic, prepared). In order to develop a meaningful policy toward the Soviet Union of reality, Carter needed to worry about the Soviet Union of the imagination, and when he responded to the Soviet Union of the imagination, he found himself in trouble with the Soviet Union of reality.

When Carter took office, the cold war seemed finally over, liquidated in the only way it could be, by a Republican President willing to find some areas of movement in foreign policy. For Carter, the obvious tasks were to carry forward the momentum that had already been established: SALT II, wheat deals, triangular relations, East-West trade in general and troop reductions abroad. Besides the fact that such policies were based upon the world as it was—a considerable advantage, one would think, in international relations—such a program also made economic sense, for it put controls on the arms race and thereby reduced inflation and the balance of payments. Duly operating with a Trilateral mandate, the "traders" of the Carter Administration were unprepared for the outpouring of hawkish sentiment that inevitably overtakes the United States when a weak Democratic President is unable to stand up to the fury of the right. For all practical purposes, the domestic image of the Soviet Union turned out to have more currency than the international reality of Soviet conduct, and Carter found himself once again in the awkward position of repudiating the foreign policy of his own Department of State.

The stations along the road to the revival of the cold war are well known: the withdrawal of the SALT II treaty, the preparedness scare of 1979-80, the revival of chemical warfare, the speedup of the MX missile and, finally, the pronouncement of a frightening new nuclear war doctrine in Presidential Directive 59. All along, Carter's decisions in East-West relations were seen to have a domestic tinge, but nowhere did this become clearer than during the 1980 campaign, when, out of the blue, Carter started a renewed drive for approval of the SALT II treaty. Having declared that he would not seek ratification of this agreement while Soviet troops remained in Afghanistan, Carter changed his mind when Reagan looked strong in the suburbs. Certainly no international reality had changed when Carter once again became

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pro-SALT: only the domestic balance of forces had shifted. Many liberals were happy to see Carter acting as a dove, but the situation was appalling: here was a blatant example of a man willing to toy with the single most important issue of his Administration in order to enhance his prospects for re-election.

Carter's strategy with SALT was based upon what can be called an assumption of reversibility: whatever is pronounced today can be reversed tomorrow. Yet there are at least three reasons why, in East-West relations, the assumption of reversibility does not hold:

(*1*) Bureaucratic momentum, once begun, is difficult to stop. The classic case of this maxim may turn out to be the MX missile. This weapon serves no purpose in defense of the United States, especially without the SALT treaty, for no sooner will it be completed than the Russians, unrestrained by an international treaty limiting warheads, will acquire the capability to destroy it. Environmentally and economically, as is well known, the MX will have a devastating impact, and it is welcomed in some parts of Utah as warmly as a black family. Why, then, did Carter support it? The only answer that makes sense is that Carter viewed the MX as a bargaining chip to win support for SALT, hoping that, with the treaty secured, the MX could be renegotiated. Yet the United States now seems to be obtaining the exact opposite: SALT will not be approved and the MX will. For once approval for the weapon was given to the Pentagon, the mechanisms of bureaucratic politics insured that its development could not be reversed, just as once the SALT treaty was withdrawn from Senatorial consideration, the dynamics of Congressional politics guaranteed that it could not be reconsidered.

(*2*) New technologies in the weapons field are unstoppable once unleashed. Jimmy Carter chose to play politics with strategic weapons at a time when, as Nigel Calder points out in his book *Nuclear Nightmares,* we are moving from a scarcity weapons economy to a surplus one. Poised on the threshold, both superpowers can move to a point where technological limitations on the number and destructive power of nuclear weapons will no longer exist. Never was international restraint more necessary, and never were domestic politics less likely to permit it. Thus, Carter could offer plutonium to India while proclaiming his commitment to controlling proliferation, and was able to portray Reagan as a warmonger while lifting the restraints on technological innovations in strategic weapons. The damage done is unlikely to be reversed once the dust of electoral politics has settled.

(*3*) Soviet tolerance of American shenanigans has just about reached the breaking point, and European support for whatever America does already has. The leaders of all other potential powers understand full well that everything stops when America elects a President, and that one should not pay too much attention to things said in the heat of a campaign. But 1980 was a bit too much. Once the point is reached when U.S. hysterics undermine the domestic legitimacy of the softer line in Moscow, the world will be in serious trouble indeed. Similarly, weathervane politics in Europe, like those of Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany, shift even more subtly toward neutrality as American behavior becomes more erratic. In short, Jimmy Carter's ability to introduce domestic politics into U.S.-Soviet relations is premised upon the assumption that Americans have almost no sense of history—a correct premise, but one that fails to account for the fact that other peoples do. Americans are likely to support their President whatever he does, but important interests abroad which seek accommodation with the United States have less flexibility.

Given the impossibility of reversing policies once they are adopted during an election campaign, the single most unforgivable act of the Carter Administration—and, if I may say so, the sole reason why I chose not to vote for Carter in 1980—was the promulgation of a new nuclear doctrine in the midst of an electoral battle. P.D. 59, as it is called, substitutes the targeting of Soviet missiles for the targeting of Soviet cities, thereby formally committing the United States to a "counterforce" strategy. At the same time, the new doctrine also accepts the idea that a limited nuclear war can be fought and won, thereby lowering the threshold of resistance to starting one. Despite claims by the Administration that there was really nothing new about this doctrine—and indeed counterforce goes back to Nixon—I feel about this directive as an anti-Fascist must have felt about *Kristallnacht*—that from this point on, one must announce one's total opposition to the regime's policies or be guilty of complicity in the disaster that must surely follow. There simply is no palpable national-security reason for the United States to repudiate its strategy of deterrence. But even if there were, there is even less of an excuse for taking such an action during an election campaign. The world moved one giant step closer to nuclear war because Jimmy Carter wanted to serve another four years as President.

I do not think that I am being too harsh. Almost unnoticed in the 1980 election was a phenomenon as important as the Reagan victory. Increasingly, candidates are elected independently of their parties, by means of direct access to public opinion through the media. This trend has devastating implications for foreign policy and will affect Reagan as much as it did Carter. American Presidents now pre-test all foreign policy decisions for popularity. Consequently, world situations are simplified, subtler alternatives are ignored, and the dramatic is emphasized over the slower, but more rewarding, process of diplomacy. It all seems very democratic, but it is as democratic as choosing one brand of automobile rather than another. The American people, very passive, quite apolitical, much less informed about foreign affairs than in the recent past and quick to make fickle judgments, are asked to ratify issues affecting the future of the world. It is for this reason that Carter's record was so abysmal, and Reagan will face the very same situation, drawing upon a mandate that is weak at best. (Reagan received 26 percent of the eligible vote in 1980; Carter received 27 percent in 1976.) One can only wonder how much longer the world will tolerate the circus that American politics, and American policy, has become. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Memories of Nazi Germany

THOMAS FLANAGAN

A MODEL CHILDHOOD. *By Christa Wolf. Translated by Ursule Molinaro and Hedwig Rappolt. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 407 pp. $17.50.*

GHOST WALTZ. *By Ingeborg Day. The Viking Press. 240 pp. $11.95.*

These are memoirs by sensibilities so radically different from each other that to discuss them together is to risk a belittlement of what each has achieved; yet the ground they share is so wide as to make comparison inevitable. Briefly put, each is an attempt to make sense of a life touched, in childhood, by the Nazi experience. Touched, and wounded.

The writers differ in age, and hence the nature of that experience differs for each. Christa Wolf is the older—she was 4 when the Nazis came to power in 1933, and in her girlhood was enrolled in one of the Hitler youth organizations in her native city of Landsberg. Ingeborg Day was 4 when the Nazis fell from power in 1945, and her actual memories of those years are only those of very early childhood, although they do exist, subtle and treacherous, within her imagination. There are other external differences. Wolf, whose book comes to us in a supple and felicitous translation, is a citizen of East Germany and one of its most respected writers. Day grew up in Austria but has lived in this country for most of her adult life, and her prose is specifically "American"—nervous, allusive and nuanced. She is devastating in her arguments that Austrian Nazism was fully as abominable as its German counterpart, being fed from an anti-Semitism which was just as vicious and considerably older.

What joins the books within the reader's imagination and moral consciousness, however, is neither the shared subject nor the differences created by biography. Rather, it is the shared conviction that for those who endured Nazism, neither as victims nor conscious persecutors, the experience survives as, quite literally, a problem of memory. It is both a public and a private problem. Public because of the well-known German success in the matter of developing a kind of protective amnesia with respect to the Nazi years. Day's family and their friends simply willed them out of mind, as though they had never happened. As she puts it in her opening sentences: "I had two sets of parents. The set I remember adopted me in 1945, when I was four." Wolf's family have a somewhat more coherent sense of the past, but then they have less urgent cause to deny it—quiet shopkeepers who before the Nazis voted with the Social Democrats but were essentially apolitical. Herr Seiler, Day's father, is another matter. A policeman by trade, he had been a member of the Austrian Nazi Party since 1933 and a member as well of a secret right-wing group within the police. After the *Anschluss* of 1938, he was enrolled, like all policemen, into the SS.

But memory is also, for each writer, a deeply personal problem. Each book explores not only specific memories but also the nature of memory itself, and although the techniques employed are quite different, the intention is identical. They are attempts to discover, through the open nerves of intimate feelings, memories the culture has conspired to obliterate. And, curiously, each is directly concerned with the relationship between memory and prose, the transformation of the past into form, with all its attendant temptations to create newer, more comely falsifications. Each book is partly about the way in which it came to be written.

Wolf chooses to employ a deliberately transparent fiction, with invented names. The frame for her book is a journey, with her daughter and her husband, back to Landsberg, which now, under a different name, is a city in Poland. But her narrative loops back upon itself, is interrupted by disquisitions upon memory, by notes to herself upon proper openings, by problems of discovering appropriate tones and stances. Which is to say that it is a book whose texture has been deliberately thickened and complicated, turning in upon itself and then moving outward again to recapture lost territories of recollection and feeling. Day's technique is bare, pruned, artful. She is a master of the lingering, ironical sentence, and of the art of so situating apparently neutral paragraphs that a powerful emotion is generated within the empty space that separates them. The two books are, in their different ways, almost flamboyant, certainly virtuoso, demonstrations of technique.

In America, settled into a career in publishing, Day plunges into a subject forbidden in her home: histories of the Nazi regime. And, coming upon the opening lines of the "Horst Wessel Lied," she thinks, bored and irritated, "Jesus, what a harebrained song." Then suddenly, words and melody enter her brain, complete and intact, intensely, powerfully moving, simple as a folk song. "*SA marschiert . . .* "

> Nobody in Austria sang the "Horst Wessel Lied" after 1945. So it must have been before then. Was I one and a half? Two? Three? How can a song pop up like that, words and melody complete, and not just any song, either! What *is* all this junk mired in my brain, hovering, and why can't it come out, finally, all in one lump, or stay away from me, leave me alone, leave me? "*SA marschiert . . .* " Who lulled me to sleep with songs about marching storm troopers, before the age of four?

Again, she encounters in her work a manuscript with the phrase, *das schwartze Mädchen*, and corrects the spelling of the adjective from Yiddish into German. And something hisses inside her, seething, ferocious. "Yiddish. How I detest it. Pidgin German, a sickening bastardization of my beautiful-beautiful-language-my-home-my-language-my-beautiful-beautiful—" And she catches herself, terrified, sickened by her inchoate, ugly feelings. The voice that had sung to a small child the "Horst Wessel Lied" has spoken to her again. Her book is a painfully honest chronicle of her effort to expunge that voice, not by denying but by confronting it.

That voice is one from which she would flee, appalled; instead, she turns round to argue with it, but she must first commune with it. She must acknowledge that she has within herself, as a persistent undercurrent, a deep aversion to things Jewish, an aversion

(Continued on Page 616)

Thomas Flanagan, author of The Year of the French *(Holt, Rinehart & Winston), is working on his second novel.*

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Some Books From *The Nation* Family

Editor's note: When we decided to publish a list of recent and forthcoming books by members of The Nation *family, we had no idea what a prolific crowd we were dealing with. And doubtless the list would be even longer if we hadn't inadvertently overlooked several of our loyal editors, writers and artists (to whom we apologize in advance). There are no cookbooks, of course, and nothing along the lines of* How to Beat the Real Estate Market by Eating Bean Sprouts. *But the shelf below seems quite diverse nonetheless and we invite our readers to browse through it in search of a holiday gift for themselves or friends.*

JAMES BALDWIN. *Just Above My Head.* The Dial Press. 516 pp. $12.95.

PATRICK BRESLIN. *Interventions.* Doubleday & Company. 263 pp. $10.95.

HARRY M. CAUDILL. *The Mountain, the Miner, and the Lord.* The University Press of Kentucky. 177 pp. $12.50.

FRED J. COOK. *The Ku Klux Klan: America's Most Recurring Nightmare* (a juvenile). Julian Messner. 152 pp. $8.29.

SIGMUND DIAMOND. *In Quest: Journal of an Unquiet Pilgrimage.* Columbia University Press. 227 pp. $14.95.

JOHN DINGES and SAUL LANDAU. *Assassination on Embassy Row.* Pantheon Books. 411 pp. $14.95.

E. L. DOCTOROW. *Loon Lake.* Random House. 258 pp. $11.95.

FRANK DONNER. *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System.* Alfred A. Knopf. 554 pp. $17.95.

ROBERT ENGLER (editor). *America's Energy· Reports From "The Nation" on 100 years of Struggles for the Democratic Control of Our Resources.* Pantheon Books. 416 pp. $17.95.

RICHARD FALK (editor, with Burns H. Weston and Anthony A. D'Amato). *Basic Documents in International Law and World Order.* West Publishing Company. 447 pp. $5.95.

International Law and World Order (editor, with Burns H. Weston and Anthony A. D'Amato). West Publishing Company. 1,195 pp. $23.95.

Human Rights Versus State Sovereignty. Holmes & Meier Publishers. 300 pp. $24.50. (Winter 1981).

The War System: An Interdisciplinary Approach (editor, with Samuel Kim). Westview Press. 659 pp. $35.

FRANCES FITZGERALD. *America Revised.* The Atlantic Monthly Press. 240 pp. $8.95.

RICHARD GILMAN. *Decadence: The Strange Life of an Epithet.* Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 180 pp. $8.95.

MARK GREEN (with Michael Calabrese). *Who Runs Congress.* Bantam Books. 368 pp. $2.95.

PHILIP GREEN. *The Pursuit of Inequality.* Pantheon Books. (May 1981).

EDWARD GREER. *Big Steel, Black Politics and Corporate Power in Gary, Indiana.* Monthly Review Press. 287 pp. $16.50.

BERTRAM GROSS. *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America.* M. Evans & Company. 420 pp. $15.

BARBARA GRIZZUTI HARRISON. *Off Center.* The Dial Press. 305 pp. $9.95.

NAT HENTOFF. *The First Freedom: The Tumultuous History of Free Speech in America.* Delacorte Press. 340 pp. $9.95.

WENDY KAMINER (contributor). *Take Back the Night.* William Morrow & Company. 359 pp. $7.95.

JANE HOLTZ KAY. *Lost Boston.* Houghton Mifflin Company. 320 pp. $24.95.

A. J. LANGGUTH. *Saki, A Life of H. H. Munro, with Six Uncollected Short Stories.* Simon & Schuster. 350 pp. (May 1981).

SIDNEY LENS. *The Day Before Doomsday: An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race.* Beacon Press. 274 pp. $6.50.

Unrepentant Radical. Beacon Press. 438 pp. $14.95.

PENNY LERNOUX. *Cry of the People.* Doubleday & Company. 429 pp. $8.95.

LAWRENCE LIFSCHULTZ (with Kai Bird). *Bangladesh: The Unfinished Revolution.* Lawrence Hill & Company Publishers. 211 pp. $7.95.

RICHARD LINGEMAN. *Small Town America.* G. P. Putnam's Sons. 800 pp. $15.95.

CARL MARZANI. *The Promise of Eurocommunism.* Lawrence Hill & Company Publishers. 346 pp. $8.95.

HARRY MAURER. *Not Working: An Oral History of the Unemployed.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 348 pp. $12.95.

CAREY McWILLIAMS. *The Education of Carey McWilliams.* Simon & Schuster. 363 pp. $11.95.

MICHAEL MOFFITT (editor, with Robert L. Borosage). *The International Monetary System and the New International Order.* Institute for Policy Studies. 150 pp. $4.95.

VICTOR S. NAVASKY. *Naming Names.* The Viking Press. 482 pp. $15.95.

JANE O'REILLY. *The Girl I Left Behind.* Macmillan. 220 pp. $10.95.

RICHARD POLLAK. *Up Against Apartheid: The Role and the Plight of the Press in South Africa.* Southern Illinois University Press. (February 1981).

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"I think what people are going to say is 'Wow!'"

DRAWING BY KOREN: © 1979 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

From "*Well*, there's *your problem*." By Edward Koren. Pantheon Books. 112 pp. $8.95.

GARETH PORTER. *Vietnam: The Definitive Documentation of Human Decisions.* Earl M. Coleman Enterprises. Volume One, 724 pp. Volume Two, 675 pp. $60 (both volumes).

NEIL POSTMAN. *Teaching as a Conserving Activity.* Delacorte Press. 230 pp. $8.95.

THOMAS POWERS. *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA.* Alfred A. Knopf. 393 pp. $12.95.

FRED POWLEDGE. *Journeys Through the South.* Vanguard Press. 240 pp. $10.

EDWARD W. SAID. *Covering Islam.* Pantheon Books. (Winter 1981).

The Question of Palestine. Vintage Books. 265 pp. $2.95.

Literature and Society (editor). Johns Hopkins University Press. 224 pp. $7.50.

KIRKPATRICK SALE. *Human Scale.* Coward, McCann & Geoghegan. 550 pp. $15.95.

EARL SHORRIS. *Under the Fifth Sun: A Novel of Pancho Villa.* Delacorte Press. 622 pp. $14.95.

The Oppressed Middle. Doubleday/Anchor Press. (February 1981).

CLANCY SIGAL. *Zone of the Interior.* Popular Library. 288 pp. $1.95.

HOLLY SKLAR (editor). *Trilateralism.* South End Press. 570 pp. $8.

ANTHONY SMITH. *The Politics of Information: Problems of Policy in Modern Media.* Humanities Press. 247 pp. $8.50.

PHILIP STERN. *Lawyers on Trial.* Times Books. 265 pp. $12.50.

MICHAEL TANZER. *Race for Resources.* Monthly Review Press. 285 pp. $16.

STUDS TERKEL. *American Dreams: Lost and Found.* Pantheon Books. 507 pp. $14.95.

CALVIN TRILLIN. *Floater.* Ticknor & Fields. 204 pp. $9.95.

MILTON VIORST. *Fire in the Streets.* Simon & Schuster. 591 pp. $14.95.

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS. *Empire as a Way of Life.* Oxford University Press. 226 pp. $14.95.

ALAN WOLFE. *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Threat.* Institute for Policy Studies. 94 pp. $4.95.

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(Continued from Page 613)

that her proper liberal sentiments do little to temper. And yet she cannot remember her parents or her teachers or her friends or indeed "anyone with whom I was growing up, saying a word about Jews. Not pro, not con, not ever." Why, then, seeing a newspaper photograph of Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn, does she experience "a quick, short rush, a smell, that taste in your mouth that first tells you you are going to be sick?"

Is that appalling voice "real"? It is difficult to believe that anyone can be culturally indoctrinated at the age of 2. She may well be dealing with the kind of phantom pain sometimes experienced by amputees: the memories may be false memories. But of course the voice is a metaphor. Like the record of the "Blue Danube" an American friend gives her, whose melody, sticky-sweet, ritualized, gelatinized . . . *nice*, carries her back (da, *da*, da, da, *da*, DADA, DADA) to a dancing class in Graz, and then to her father waltzing with her in the kitchen, in socks and plaid shirt and old gray trousers held up by suspenders. Her father, of course, knows the "Blue Danube" by heart.

The roots of her problem lie hidden by the dark earth of that silence in which her family and her teachers conspired. Her father, by all that she can discover in a few terse records, had been involved in no nameable atrocity, but she has no doubt that he was a committed and therefore a fiercely anti-Semitic Nazi. She can understand the pressures that drove people of his class into National Socialism—working class struggling into the lower-middle and fearful of sliding backward into poverty—but it is the kind of abstract sociological understanding of which we are all capable, falling well short of sympathy. Her problem is that she loves him. It is as simple and as unendurable as that.

"If I try to put myself into my parents' shoes I go down a dizzying spiral and all thought stops. I am just so grateful not to be in their shoes. And I long to be rid of every trace of this creeping sickness that assaults me unawares, over a newspaper photograph, or a researcher's question conjuring up Yiddish. I do not want to accept it. I want it rooted out."

But the roots are entwined with other roots, with memories of familial kindness, intimacy, security. Her book records, and celebrates, the painful process, compounded of moral courage and moral imagination, by which she separates the roots, half-teasing, half-tearing them apart. Midway through the book's composition, a friend—Jewish, Harvard-educated—tells her that she must not call herself anti-Semitic: anti-Semites are terrible persons, and she is not. "Yiddish, you can't really count that, that's more of a purist reaction. The Hasids in the photograph, well, I might feel like that myself, and I'd call that a specifically American kind of uneasiness. We're all wary of an obvious unwillingness to assimilate." It is the voice of common sense and common generosity, and it is the wrong voice. Day knows, as Yeats knew in one of his greatest poems, that she must "follow to its source every event in action or in thought; measure the lot," for only then can she "forgive myself the lot."

Racism as a pulse in the veins, a taste upon the tongue, has too seldom been confronted; yet there, within the body and the senses, it has pitched its strongest tents. And the problem is universal, rather than specifically German or Austrian. Doubtless there are children growing up in Brooklyn for whom, in future years, the sight of a black or the sound of the word "Palestinian" will prompt the same sickening vertigo which once the word *Jude* did for Day. And for them, too, the only remedy will be the painful, liberating confrontation with a seductive voice within the skull. □

Hear VICTOR NAVASKY

Friday, December 12
8:30 P.M.

"From the Blacklist to the '80s - The Politics of Degradation"

at

E. M. Baker School
89 Baker Hill Road
Great Neck, Long Island
Auspices: Great Neck Forum
516-HU7-7241

Voices of Nothingness

GENE LYONS

CRACKERS. *By Roy Blount Jr. Alfred A. Knopf. 291 pp. $10.95.*

SOUTHERNERS. *By Marshall Frady. New American Library. 385 pp. $13.95.*

The South has changed in the last fifteen years or so, more than any other section of the country. The South as a special case—a sort of moral bestiary to be wondered at, scorned, scolded but secretly half-admired by many outsiders, a place where everyday life seemed more elemental and passionate than anywhere else in America, a domestic Israel, but with the bad guys in control—that South has vanished as if overnight. Except for a few lingering backwaters, most of the region gave up resisting integration between 1965 and 1970. Within a very few years it was almost as if de jure segregation had never existed. The civil rights battles having been lost, Southern whites learned, to their surprise, that the sky did not fall. More than that, business began to improve as moral opprobrium diminished and companies previously unwilling to establish offices or move operations southward began to take advantage of the region's cheaper labor, lower taxes, ample natural resources and anti-union climate.

In Arkansas, which I consider home, and which has been less affected by the regional economic boom than some areas, Republican Winthrop Rockefeller defeated the infamous Orval Faubus in 1968—a year which also saw that state return J. William Fulbright to the Senate at the height of the Vietnam War. True, Arkansas also gave its electoral votes to George Wallace for President. But since that year, no politician has come anywhere near winning a statewide election who has not gone out of his way to avoid bigots and court the black vote. Dale Bumpers, who won Fulbright's seat in 1974, did so in part by appealing to blacks and to white liberals; they felt they owed Fulbright for his foreign policy stands, but believed Bumpers would carry on in more or less the same tradition in that arena and much better on civil rights issues. By

Gene Lyons, a native of Elizabeth, New Jersey, is a writer who has lived in Arkansas and Texas for the past nine years. His Texas Monthly *article, "Why Teachers Can't Teach," won the 1980 National Magazine Award for Public Service.*

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and large they have been correct. Partly those changes are due to black voting power, but partly as well to a perceptible and very real change of heart on the part of white voters. When a black basketball player from Little Rock named Sidney Moncrief finished his four-year career at the University of Arkansas in 1979, for example, the stands were filled with white folks openly crying. As remarkable an individual as an athlete, Moncrief was simply loved and respected by almost everybody in the state, at least partly because he loved Arkansas. The state's entry in the 1980 Miss America pageant was also black—an even more astonishing development to anybody over 30. Symbols, yes, but significant ones.

Roy Blount's *Crackers*, unfortunately, has little to say about such subjects. Ostensibly, to quote the subtitle, his book is a meditation upon "Jimmy, more Carters, ominous little animals, sad singing women, my Daddy and me." In fact, it is a shamelessly patched together series of magazine articles, little more than a sustained hooraw written to get even with prigs who don't understand the South. Styling himself a "Crackro-American," Blount has built the whole book around one basic joke: Southerners who seem dumb are really full of sly wisdom. "This may confound your stereotype of Georgians," he tells the reader early on, "but I don't own any firearms." A bit later he accounts for Brother Billy Carter's nasty edge: "He may resent something. He may resent that people tend to assume that a man from South Georgia is quaint, for one thing." In the interest of having some fun with readers who do assume that, Blount has invented an utterly contrived style: "*What?* NAW. That ain't no way to write a damn sentence! That's the limpest damn piddliest damn saddest-looking most clogged and whiney damn hitching-around piss-and-corruption-covered damn sentence I ever saw."

Now *those* sentences are the literary equivalent of an opossum playing dead. And against the background of today's South they illustrate how the self-consciously Southern writer's problem of voice has become particularly acute. The sons of Savings and Loan presidents in Atlanta suburbs, which Blount happens to be, don't talk like that anymore than the sons of Savings and Loan presidents in suburban New Jersey talk like John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever*. Especially not Vanderbilt- and Harvard-educated sons. The aw-shucks manner enjoyed a brief vogue among regional newspaper columnists a few years back, but has largely passed from use south and west of the Hudson (Blount now lives in Massachusetts) because of the obvious limits it places upon subject matter, and because Southern readers quickly found it cloying and tiresome.

To his credit, Blount avoids mention of the famous "New South," as well as of Kirkpatrick Sale's silly-sinister "Sunbelt." The best pieces in the book concern Brother Billy, captured more or less in the raw in his pre-Libyan days. The odd career of Jimmy and the rest of his kin purportedly ties the collection together, but there are too few laughs, too little substance and too many stories like "I May Have Sung With Jerry Jeff." This is merely a tale about forty-eight drunken hours spent in the company of Jerry Jeff Walker, a country-rock singer born and raised in upstate New York but metamorphosed into a Professional Texan. Blount's attempts to justify such material on a thematic basis are simply ludicrous. "I'll admit, I'm glad Jerry Jeff isn't in the White House," Blount appends to the piece, out of nowhere. "Whiskey and Blood," ostensibly about country music, consists mainly of Blount's own lyrics, pages and pages of them. "Oh we scrunched down on the couch/Her father was a grouch/But we scrunched down on the couch/Until she hollered, 'Ouch.' " That kind of thing. Blount has his moments of wit, but they are a magazine writer's moments at best and do not justify the price of a hardback book.

Marshall Frady's *Southerners* is comprised of magazine pieces, too, but he is a far more serious writer for whom the abrupt end of the bad old days indicates more serious problems of voice. Frady grew up the son of a fundamentalist Southern Baptist preacher, and he is unabashedly Faulknerian in both style and vision. His childhood was spent in small-town pastorates across the region. He tells us in a preamble to this collection of pieces (which were written over the last fifteen years) that a person who grew up as he did can never wholly escape the "moral sentimentality . . . that sweltering, heaving, gaslit moral dramaturgy of guilt and redemption, of struggle and suffering and grace" such an upbringing entails. How then to reconcile that style of apprehension, a style that had a great deal to do with the region's racial dualisms, with today's South, where "simple passionate definitions of life have begun to wane and diffuse into the pleasant monotone coma of the rest of corporate American suburbia"?

That is the question Frady sets himself. And if he does not quite answer it, except by reversion to the sort of standard Joseph Heller blather about the awful sterility of American life evident in that sentence, he at least asks it honestly. To that end he has grouped the pieces roughly by chronology and theme into three sections: "The South Tribal," which concerns mostly politicians; "The Racial Passage," and "The South Domesticated." Just as significantly, Frady, author of a fine biography of George Wallace, continues to make his home in the region, both to keep in touch with it and to maintain a distance from the New York literary stock market.

What I meant by Frady's unabashedly Faulknerian approach can be seen most clearly in the first two sections, although traces permeate the work.

AN EVENING FOR PEACE

A convocation on the dangers to global security posed by poverty, underdevelopment and the arms race.

Sunday, December 7, 1980
7:00 P.M.

Dom Helder Camara
Archbishop of Olinda & Recife, Brazil

Olaf Palme
Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Studs Terkel
Chronicler of American life

Vinie Burrows
Poet and dramatist

The Rev. Fred Kirkpatrick
Troubadour of non-violence

William Sloane Coffin
Senior Minister, Riverside Church

Cora Weiss
Director, Riverside Disarmament Program

Frederick Swann
Organist, Riverside Church

The Nave
Riverside Church
Riverside Drive at 120th Street
New York City

For information call:
The Disarmament Program
(212) 749-7000.

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Huey Long, for example, is said to spring from his family's nondescript past, "abruptly, like a combustion out of nowhere," very like Faulkner's Thomas Sutpen, "who came out of nowhere and without warning upon the land." That the same could be said of politicians as diverse as Harry Truman, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan—indeed, about all sorts of notable Americans who are not Southerners—never seems to occur to the school of self-consciously Southern writers Frady represents. Similarly derivative are Frady's descriptions of place—Americus, Georgia, for example, as "abruptly plopped down intact, out of nowhere . . . and left there static and changeless under a vast, oblivious, silver-shimmering sky." In *Absalom, Absalom!* Sutpen arrived with his Haitian slaves on the "tranquil and astonished earth" to "drag house and formal gardens violently out of the soundless Nothing and clap them down like cards upon a table beneath the up-palm immobile and pontific."

I've never been exactly sure what those last four words mean, but constant evocations of nothingness are central to the "moral sentimentality" Frady speaks of in his introduction. So is his familiar portrayal of the South as "the one region of the country with its own active interior mythos, its own native tragic legend of blood and fire and guilt. Most critically, guilt." The guilt, of course, is Quentin Compson's —"I don't hate the South, etc."

In my experience, that emotion dwells not only in Southern writers but also in many Northerners, who found their own ambiguities about race and social class salved by the certain knowledge that the Devil dwelt below the Potomac. I do not mean to say that nobody is sincere in these matters, nor that the South would have been able to come to where it is today without having been pushed. That would be absurd. But I have friends in Little Rock who put their livelihoods and reputations on the line during the 1957 integration crisis at Central High. Considering what happened elsewhere, theirs was a successful effort to avoid mob violence, and they actively resent what they have long regarded as hypocritical condescension. The recent Boston troubles especially gave rueful satisfaction to many white Southerners who are not racists.

Perhaps that is putting it a bit strongly. For all the rhetorical overkill, Frady is a good journalist, and readers who missed these pieces the first time around in *Esquire, Harper's, The New York Review of Books, Life* and *New Times* will enjoy them both for their fine insights and as a sort of informal social history of the period. Frady's pieces on the odd career of Lester Maddox, as well as on "The Technician From Plains," are excellent. So is "The Judgment of Jesse Hill Ford," about the Tennessee novelist who seems to have destroyed his life and writing career after shooting to death a black soldier he thought was a nightrider. "A Death in Lowndes County," about the killing of two ministers who were civil rights workers, and the acquittal of the killer in a shameful trial, brings back quite vividly the "tacit collaboration in falseness, unreality [and] absurdity" that constituted the moral climate of Alabama in 1965, when the piece was written. In short, I hope *Southerners* gets the many readers it deserves.

But I do wish to question the continuing adequacy of the Quentin Compson mode, and "moral sentimentality" is exactly the right phrase for it. For one thing, Southern journalists using it have tended to make what are metaphors in Faulkner and other novelists into abstract ideas, at which remove they become debatable at best, and sometimes just plain foolish. Is the sky over Springfield, Des Moines, or Provo any less vast and oblivious than that over Americus? Can that city legitimately be described as "plopped down intact, out of nowhere . . . and left there static and changeless" anymore than Harrisburg? And even if it could, what does Frady mean us to conclude when we are told a few pages later that a person he is writing about chose to live in Americus because of its "calm, leafy snugness"?

All bad guys in his work tend to be funny-looking. One white bigot is "a studiously surly man with a pinkish, bulb-eyed Boston terrier's face." Another is "a large loud man with an empurpled face and pale chartreuse tufts of hair like parakeet feathers." A third has "a jackal's sepulchral grin." If there are odd-looking liberals or homely blacks in Frady's South they are not described. Among many traits Frady shares with too many other Southern writers is the curious notion that the South is bucolic and personal, while the North is industrial and therefore impersonal. That should be news in Houston and Birmingham, as well as in Iowa and Maine. Like most Southern writers, Frady speaks of "The North" when he means New York City. Or perhaps Boston, which Frady characterizes as "lacking of another intelligence: that sensual intimacy with human experience made up of the strivings and appetite of a heart kept simple and so more alive."

What Frady means is that persons like himself and the character he was writing about in the piece from which that remarkable opinion comes have moved upward in class as they have gone North, and thus consort mainly with genteel intellectuals. My own experience has been exactly the opposite, and were I prone to make regional generalizations about the differences between where I grew up and where I live I would have to say that Southerners are overly civilized and comparatively cool natured. To any reader familiar with everyday life in the South and not disarmed by the cultural authority of the Faulknerian mythos, Frady's generalizations have about them a whiff of moonshine.

There is another problem, too, with adapting any serious novelist's world view into journalism, hedged as it is by topical and legal constraints. Frady

LOVE IN THE
WESTERN WORLD

Think of family, Ulster Irish
run out on a ram's horn,
our first real move.
The same square hands
ploughing through Missouri
and Iowa and Minnesota,
where we learned to muffle
the cavities of the body,
batten the heart down
on loneliness. Still it beats
family, family, as if the pulse
of our one-to-a-body-rivers
ever ran singular. And if nothing
continues—the body ending
in this fist, everything short
of the mark—what do we want?
Don't give me history. No bridges
from my heart to your heart
to all of them stringing back
like dark berries: only
open my hand, press it
for the feel of the river,
the old fishline unreeling again.

Kathy Callaway

Kathy Callaway's poems have been published in Antaeus, The Iowa Review *and* Ploughshares.

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touches on that problem briefly himself in writing about Jesse Hill Ford. Ford was scorned by some in his little hometown of Humboldt for writing *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones*, a novel with "liberal" overtones about race. But, under pressure, even he reverts to some nasty racial mutterings. Perhaps all real storytellers, Frady says, have essentially Dionysian dispositions, and work out of "a primitive, profoundly reactionary, pagan vision . . . [that] the race is basically unimprovable, and its condition an unalterable mixture of weakness and nobility."

More Faulknerian rhetoric, but I think Frady believes it, and it explains his seemingly paradoxical lament for the old South's disappearance. "A loss of provincialism," Frady says, "is not necessarily a circumstance to be celebrated . . . it's turned out to be more like a cultural lobotomy." The Southern states are still different from the rest, but now only as the rest are different from each other. Of course, as elsewhere, there are still injustices and outrages perpetrated every day in the region, but few have that heady appeal of the absolute about them, and without that appeal they are both more difficult to write about in the Frady manner and harder to find an audience for. Regional self-consciousness is waning. The South as a journalistic category is imperiled; certainly it has lost what publishers call its "sex appeal." There are as many stories as ever to tell about the region, but writers like Frady and Blount are going to have to find new voices to tell them in. □

THEATER

JULIUS NOVICK

The Philadelphia Story

The great fact of modern American theater history has been the shift of power from the commercial to the not-for-profit theater, the discovery that the "legitimate" stage (having been successively outflanked as mass entertainment by movies, radio, talkies and television) deserves a place as High Culture beside the symphony, the opera, the ballet. The Vivian Beaumont Theater is the clearest possible assertion of theater as High Culture, located as it is quite literally beside the symphony, the opera and the ballet in Lincoln Center, New York City—the cultural center of the cultural center of the U.S.A. Yet while other theaters, from the Trinity Rep in Providence to the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, are symbols, however embattled or compromised, of the success of the not-for-profit theater movement, the Beaumont, in spite of its occasional triumphs, has always been a symbol of failure, of cultural overreaching, of the dangers of institutionalized art.

It was built to be the home of a great American classical repertory theater, but the greatness has never materialized. By the time the Beaumont opened in 1965, the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center had compiled a disillusioning record in temporary quarters, and Robert Whitehead and Elia Kazan, its founding leaders, had been replaced by Herbert Blau and the late Jules Irving. They dismantled the Whitehead-Kazan acting company, jettisoned the policy of rotating repertory in favor of a series of straight runs, and inaugurated the Beaumont with a disastrous production, directed by Blau, of Georg Buchner's *Danton's Death*. Blau departed not long afterward; Irving, in his cautious, pragmatic way, had just about learned how to run the place successfully when he resigned in 1973.

With Irving's last season, the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center went out of existence; the Beaumont was turned over to Joseph Papp, and became an uptown branch of Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival. Many theater people despise the Beaumont audience as a bunch of stodgy, middle-class suburbanites who want to associate themselves with "culture" on the easiest possible terms—a snobbish and defeatist view, in my opinion. Papp made no secret of his determination to drive the old Beaumont audience out of the theater and attract a new one; he succeeded too well in the first half of his attempt but not well enough in the second, and had to change his policy. From a series of abrasive (and mostly very bad) new plays, he switched to a policy of matching avant-garde directors with scripts that had attained classical status: Richard Foreman and *The Threepenny Opera*, Andrei Serban and *The Cherry Orchard*. I was not an admirer of the productions that resulted but something was going on in them—they were risky, they were stimulating, they were intelligent—and the Beaumont audience took to them eagerly, until Papp decided that the pleasure of producing at the Beaumont was not

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worth the pain and cost. In 1977 Papp pulled out and the Beaumont went dark.

The Beaumont has always been an awkward place to make theater in. This big, plush candybox is very expensive to operate, with problematic acoustics and sightlines; its huge, high, wide, deep stage can thrust out into the house or retreat behind a proscenium, but is unwieldy in both configurations. Actors hate the place: so much extra energy has to go into getting anything across the footlights. And beyond the immediate problems of the physical plant are the difficulties of having to work in the glaring light of publicity that Lincoln Center attracts, of having to deal with both the demanding expectations and the anti-establishment prejudices that focus on that constellation of cultural palaces. But there is an audience for the Beaumont. With its marble and plush, its big two-story lobby, its plate-glass windows looking out over the Henry Moore sculpture and the ornamental pool, the place has a glamour about it, a sense of occasion.

After three shuttered years, the Beaumont now has a new management—the Lincoln Center Theater Company—and 35,000 subscribers. Playing it very safe, they have given us *The Philadelphia Story* as their inaugural production. Philip Barry wrote this nice romantic comedy in 1939, making it old enough to be offered as an American classic, a part of our heritage. Many people have pleasant memories of the movie with Katharine Hepburn. Nostalgia still sells in the American theater; *Morning's at Seven*, a hit last season, is still running on Broadway. And Ellis Rabb, a member of the Beaumont's Artistic Directorate and a specialist in reviving nice old American plays, was available to direct.

For those who rejected the Beaumont years ago as a temple of genteel establishment culture where nothing vital could flourish, the choice of *The Philadelphia Story* confirmed their worst suspicions. Even my father, who is not an avant-garde intellectual and who is a former Beaumont subscriber, said when he read the announcement in the newspaper, "Are they going to dig up that old thing again? It was out of date twenty-five years ago." I said wait and see, maybe it's better than you remember, but the evidence of the production is that my father was right.

Blythe Danner in the Hepburn part is very charming, but not even she could get me to care about Tracy Lord. This strong-minded Philadelphia heiress goes off for a swim in the altogether with cynical newspaperman Macaulay "Mike" Connor the very night before she is to marry someone else, while her roguish ex-husband heckles from the sidelines. The author means to show how Tracy is transformed from a self-righteous ice goddess into a warm, forgiving woman with an "understanding heart," but the process hardly starts until the play is half over, and even then . . . what a placid evening this is! (Edward Herrmann's stolid performance as Mike is no help.)

Barry's play is not even witty, only polite, grammatical, "civilized." ("Civilized" means that the characters say things like, "That's an extremely vulgar remark.") Whatever keenness and urgency it ever had has been lost, partly through the effect that time tends to have on minor plays, partly because the Beaumont is built for big plays and big gestures, and the feeble felicities of this light comedy are lost in it.

The Philadelphia Story is not stupid or meretricious or even absolutely boring, but it offended me by its inoffensiveness. "What place has a girl like Tracy Lord in the world today?" asks Mike Connor, and the question has lost none of its cogency with the years. One possible answer is found in another comment of Mike's: "The prettiest sight in this fine, pretty world is the privileged class enjoying its privileges." He is speaking ironically, but this production is made for people who are willing to take it literally. John Conklin's garden-room setting seems to cover several acres, and is crowded with more furniture (all "good pieces," no doubt) than I have ever seen in one place when none of it was for sale. The ambiance fairly reeks of wealth and good grooming. I was reminded of Konstantin's denunciation, in *The Seagull*, of the fashionable theater of his time, where "these great geniuses, these priests of holy art, show how people eat, drink, make love, move about and wear their jackets." This is the kind of production that convinces young viewers that the theater has nothing to say to them.

What next for the Beaumont? *Macbeth* with Philip Anglim and Maureen Anderman, directed by Sarah Caldwell, and then a new play by Woody Allen. And what does the Lincoln Center Theater Company stand for: what is its "social direction and meaning," in Harold Clurman's terms? Hard to say. There is to be no permanent company. The theater will be run by Richmond Crinkley as executive director, with the help of an Artistic Directorate consisting of Edward Albee, Woody Allen, Sarah Caldwell, Liviu Ciulei, Robin Phillips and Ellis Rabb—an oddly assorted group at best. Evidently we cannot expect "a spirit, a style, a technique embodying a specific cultural attitude," to quote Clurman once more; the best we can hope for, it appears, are assorted good things now and then. Well, that is something; it could even be much. At least the theater is open again. Whenever a theater is open, there are possibilities. Even at the Beaumont. □

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ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Rosemary Mayer is showing sculpture at the Interart Gallery, 549 West 52nd Street, New York City (open 1 to 6 P.M., Monday through Friday, until December 23). It is the gallery of the Women's Interart Center, which also runs workshops and a theater program. This collection of Mayer's sculpture of

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the early 1970s should be well known. It demonstrates a brilliant use of color, from hazy transparency to radiant shafts. She never separates three-dimensional form from color or reduces color to a byproduct of physical material. Volume and color are intricately related in a way that is entirely original to her. The show includes wall reliefs, hanging sculpture and free-standing pieces, one of which, "The Locrian Mode," is used as the title of the exhibition. Julia Ballerini, in her excellent introduction to the catalogue, explains the term: "In medieval reconstructions of ancient Greek music, two of their ideal fourteen modes were unusable, turning melody discordant. These two were called the 'Locrian Modes.' " The irony and the historical reference are typical of Mayer's never-simple allusions. At first sight the work is awkward, but it is the awkwardness of strength. There is a great wooden double curve that rises at an angle from the floor to more than human height. This ogee curve is in two sections, pegged together at the center, where it is supported on a wooden tongue—the whole is strung like an unknown instrument.

Earlier this year Mayer showed at Cornell University, in the art gallery of the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration. She is an exceptionally original sculptor, but as these two exhibitions indicate, there is no single place where we can expect to see her work. She typifies a largely undiscussed problem of today's crowded art world. Her situation is that of an artist in her 30s with a solid record of work, but without a gallery at which it can be consulted. Numerous artists of both sexes are in this position. I am referring not to the entrance difficulties of new artists but to the problem of maintaining distribution after arrival and preliminary recognition.

Mayer was an early member of the first women's cooperative, the A.I.R. Gallery, founded in 1972, but resigned after a year. (It was her show there that introduced her work to me, incidentally. In it she used complex layers of cloth to create monumental forms charged with implications of historical dress and contemporary presence.) The demands of a cooperative, fully run as well as owned by the artists, harassed her, and she withdrew. A few years later she showed with a commercial gallery, Monique Knowlton's, but the obtrusion of the dealer between the artist and the work, and the smallness of the gallery space, led her to leave after one show.

The co-ops are part of a larger system of alternative spaces, a term that refers to exhibition sites that supplement the art world as defined by dealers. Mayer has zigzagged among these spaces. In 1979 she showed at 55 Mercer Street, one of the early co-ops, and at the same time at 461 Park Avenue. This was not a gallery at all but the once-only use of a floor in a building that was then vacant. It is clear that Mayer has no reluctance to show like, say, Myron Stout: there is no tendency to secession in her fitful exhibition history.

Other alternative spaces in which she has shown include the Whitney Museum's Art Resources Center on Cherry Street in 1975 and, recently, "The Times Square Show." This had some celebrity as the equivalent in visual art of Punk, but Mayer, though present, did not look at home. She installed one of a current series of "Ghosts," ragged personages improvised out of bits and pieces of paper and string. The human contour persisted, as it does in a scarecrow or a snowman: in fact, this series developed out of a group of snowmen that she sculpted last winter in the library garden at Lenox, Massachusetts.

It is not always acknowledged, but art critics, since their main function is the reviewing of exhibitions, take most of their cues from the dealers. Whether the critic likes or dislikes an artist, the fundamental unit of critical reference is the show. Thus, the regular exhibition schedule of familiar dealers tends to acquire a deceptive authority. By comparison, the scattered locations and loose schedules of the alternative spaces receive little coverage. Even the most stable of the alternative spaces, the co-op galleries, are comparatively neglected by most art critics. Thus Mayer, with no gallery affiliation at all, is at a double disadvantage. The distribution of her work is a series of single occasions, dependent on scattered academic connections (Cornell, for example, or the State University of New York at Stony Brook, where I arranged a show of her work a year or so ago), group affairs, like "The Times Square Show," and the unpredictable availability of real estate. There is clearly no income from collectors or dealers for an artist in this position. Like many others, Mayer supports herself in a variety of ways: she used to write for *Art in America* and *Arts Magazine* and still does freelance editorial work, and occasionally serves as an artist-in-residence.

Mayer is also a book-maker. The books, which exist in single copies, combine aspects of illuminated manuscripts with collage, hand-done words and images enmeshing quoted material, such as postcards and her own photos. One of these books is due to be published in the new year by the Out of London Press: this is *Pontormo's Diary*, Mayer's English version of the sixteenth-century Florentine artist's journal, interleaved with contemporary material. Thus, her time and his are interwoven in simultaneous likeness and difference. The book should be exceptional, but it is in any case a reminder of the complexity of reference that inhabits Mayer's sculpture. She has never accepted the materiality of sculpture as brute fact. For her preservation of complex meaning in sculpture, by means of an obstinate, resourceful imagination, she is a proof that the artists of alternative spaces are essential to the well-being of art today. □

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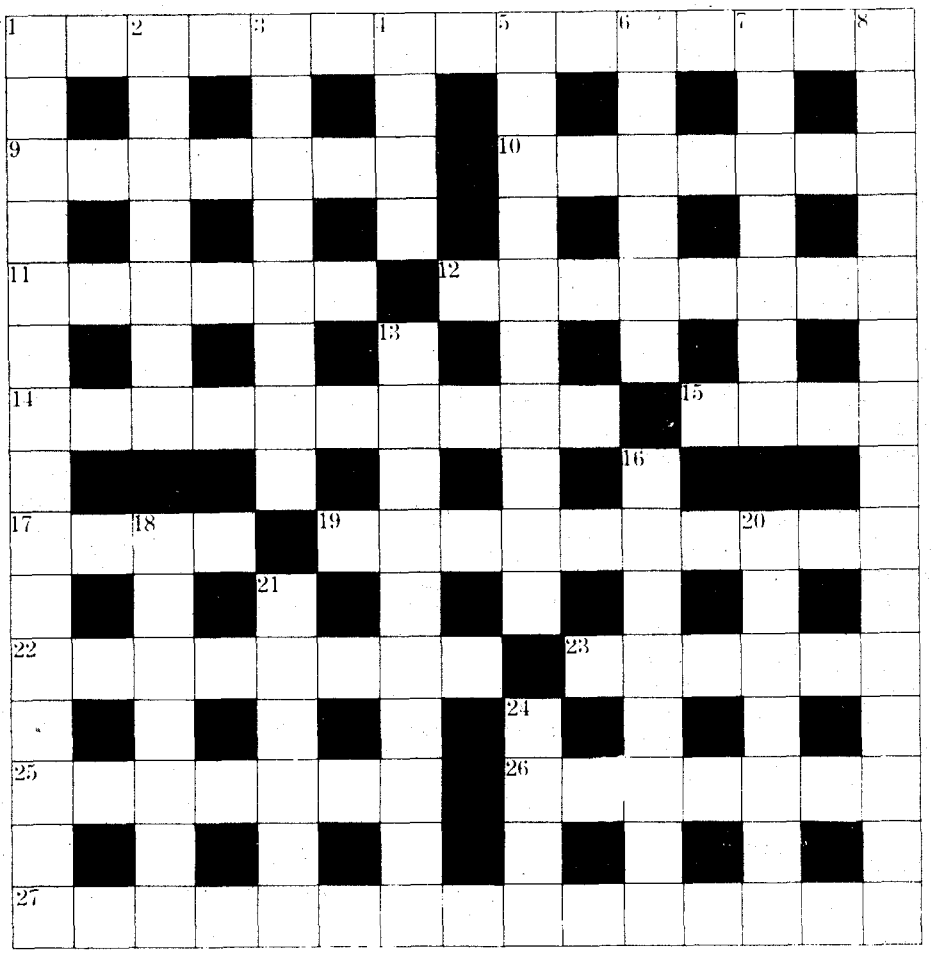
Crossword Puzzle No. 1846

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Probably a more formal version of 1 down. (It isn't the house from which you say goodbye.) (8,7)
9 Not exactly true, and somewhat angry about it, but well-developed. (7)
10 Is the C.I.A. to be shaken up? (On the surface, you might expect its movement to be in a slide.) (7)
11 One might imagine such things to let out a line, by the sound of it. (6)
12 Orchestra attached to a teacher of royalty, perhaps decorated with diamonds. (8)
14 Does it imply no more lots? (You may have seen it as a western saloon.) (4,6)
15 What the old soldier might have carried, as a sort of pike. (4)
17 Drain the aggregate quietly. (4)
19 Went up and then the opposite direction, being reduced in size. (6,4)
22 Correctly brought up as being like bacteria from the old oaken bucket? (4-4)
23 Sacred incantation which could be catchy, but outlawed, if finished quietly. (6)
25 Such heat is not necessarily glowing. (7)
26 A sort of nice tan, but certainly not a new one. (7)
27 Not that recaptured youth they talk about. (6,9)

DOWN:

1 *Mehr licht,* for example. (6,4,5)
2 Many happy such are wished for. (7)
3 Certainly not steps leading to peace. (3,5)
4 One's sweet one was told to arise in *Cymbeline.* (4)
5 One below man with a difficult clue which cannot be seen unaided. (10)
6 Is scared silly of adders, possibly! (6)
7 Proclaim in fancy fashion. (7)
8 If you need help, you might look for one who states it—but it's not a predicament to be desired. (9,6)
13 Could a cancer pit be caused by such juice? (10)
16 A former Secretary, in sum, got ahead this way. (8)
18 Look inside the army first-aid man for what might imply good air. (7)
20 Busy way to leave the intersection. (2,3,2)
21 Get a boat-wreck before getting in! (6)
24 A special sort of 2 down before one gets transportation. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1845

ACROSS: 1 Red snapper; 6 Rita; 10 Lobster; 11 Scoffer; 12 One-sided; 13 Eerie; 15 Basic; 17 Xylophone; 19 Vocalists; 21 Night; 23 Baron; 24 Casement; 27 and 30 Alice in Wonderland; 28 Annular. DOWN: 1 Role; 2 Debunks; 3 Notes; 4 Paradoxes; 5 Eased; 7 Inferno; 8 Agreements; 9 Homespun; 14 Aboveboard; 16 Colonies; 18 Last stand; 20 Cardiac; 22 Ganglia; 24 Canto; 25 Manor; 26 and 29 Braddock.

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